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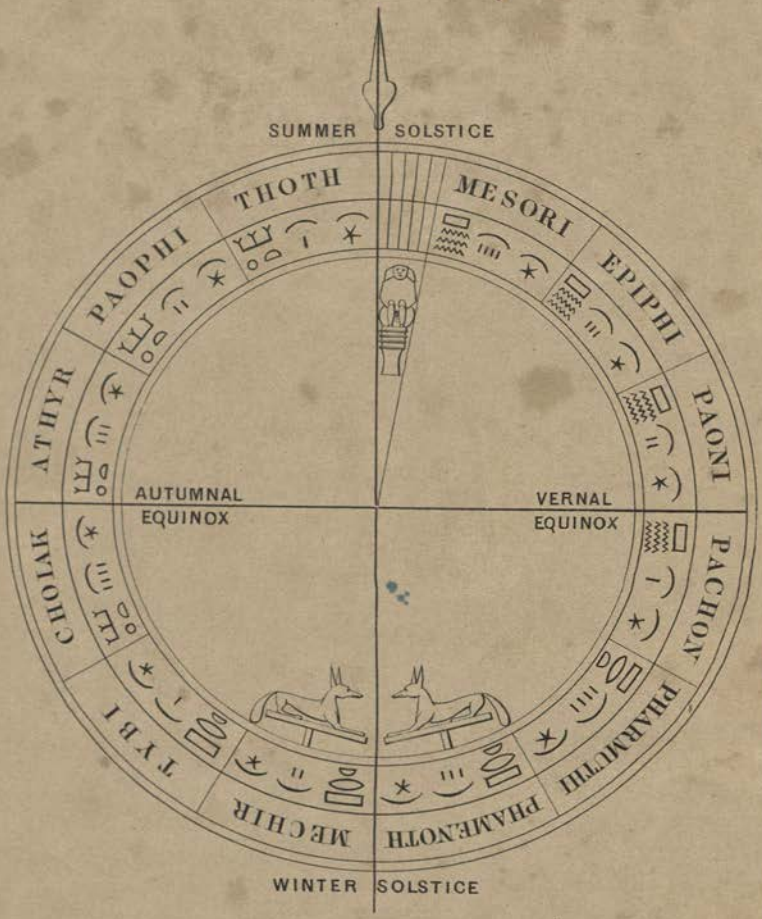


THE EGYPTIAN CALENDER.

*from the Astronomical representation on the Ceiling of the Ramesseum*

at Thebes

D.W Nash, fecit.

F. Dangerfield, Lith.

# THE PHARAOH OF THE EXODUS.

## AN EXAMINATION OF THE MODERN SYSTEMS OF EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

BY D. W. NASH,

AUTHOR OF "TALIESIN," ETC.

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# PREFACE.

THE questions treated in the following pages, are for the most part questions of opinion as to the value and application of written evidence, in establishing or refuting certain assumed facts in Egyptian history.

The identification of the Pharaoh in whose reign the Exodus of the Children of Israel took place is one of the most important points in Egyptian chronology. In dealing with this question, the Old Testament narrative has necessarily been the standard with which the Egyptian traditions supposed to relate to that event have been compared; and I have endeavoured to show which of the Egyptian traditions is the older and the genuine one, and that the history of the expulsion of the Hyksos Shepherds, when freed from the difficulties which have hitherto prevented its being generally accepted as the Egyptian history of the Exodus, accords in a striking manner with the Scripture narrative of that event.

Without any intention of setting up a system of Egyptian chronology, I have been led by an examination of the various documents hereinafter noticed, to the conclusion, that the age of the oldest monuments of Egypt has been greatly over-estimated; an opinion entertained it is true by many competent authorities,

but not hitherto supported by evidence drawn from the chronological system of the ancient Egyptians themselves.

The discovery that the Egyptian time-reckoning went back indeed to the æra of Menes, but that that æra was itself entirely arbitrary and artificial, adopted apparently as late as the fourteenth century, B.C., by counting back to the commencement of an astronomical cycle, places the whole subject of Egyptian chronology in a light altogether new; while the explanation of the so-called Hyksos period, as a time not of foreign rule, during which Egypt lay beneath the dominion of Arab or Phœnician kings, but as a time of civil and religious war, in which Lower Egypt threw off the Theban yoke and regained her independence, re-knits the hitherto broken thread of Egyptian history.

The conclusions thus arrived at, are so entirely opposed to the opinions of the continental writers on Egyptology, and especially those sanctioned by the great authority of Professor Lepsius, that it is only reasonable to expect that they should be received with distrust. If, however, on further examination by others they should be admitted to be well founded, the generally received opinions on the antiquity and chronology of the earlier periods of Egyptian history, must undergo important modification.

Cheltenham,

*June*, 1863.

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Page 117, line 13, *for* Figrae *read* Figeac.

# THE PHARAOH OF THE EXODUS.

## CHAPTER I.

### *The Materials of Egyptian Chronology.*

1.

THE history of ancient Egypt divides itself, in the opinion of the latest authorities, into three great periods. First, that of the Old Empire, from the time of the commencement of the Egyptian monarchy under its first king, Menes, down to the subjugation of Egypt by a foreign race of Phœnician or Arabian origin, who are generally known by the name of Hyksos or Shepherds. In this period are included the building of Memphis, the erection of the Pyramids and the Labyrinth, and the creation of that vast work of utility, the Lake or Sea of Mœris. The second period, which has received the name of the Middle Empire, is that during which Egypt is supposed to have been for centuries tributary to the foreign Hyksos or Shepherd kings. The third period, or that of the New Empire, commencing with the deliverance of Egypt from the Shepherd yoke, by the expulsion of the Hyksos, includes the most flourishing period, the decadence and final destruction of the empire of the Pharaohs, terminating with Nectanebo, the last of the Egyptian monarchs, in B. C. 340.

In the great period of time which embraces these three principal divisions of Egyptian history, and which is counted by thousands of years, two epochs, if they may be so called,

present themselves; first, that of the building of the Pyramids, the great monuments of the wealth, the civilization, and the religious notions of the Old Empire; secondly, the time during which Egypt was ruled by the race of Shepherd kings, with whose obscure history the earlier Christian writers connected some salient points in the history of the Hebrew people, the visit of Abraham to Egypt, the rise of Joseph to power under an Egyptian Pharaoh, the settlement of the children of Israel in the land of Goshen, and their Exodus from the land of their bondage.

2. The only people whose history can compare with that of Egypt in interest and antiquity are the Hebrews. The records of the Chinese, or of the Aryan Hindoos, may reach to a very remote period, but they afford no points of contact with those of the Western world; while among the nations who have dwelt upon the borders of the Mediterranean, the Hebrews alone have a history which runs side by side with that of Egypt to a point which, for the history of Egypt, can be fairly considered one of considerable antiquity. The Romans first came in contact with Egypt long after Egypt had ceased to be a kingdom; Greece first exerted an influence in Egyptian affairs when Egypt had long been in a state of decadence, if not decay; while the reaction of the great empires which rose and fell in the plains watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates, and of that of the Pharaohs on each other, is only obscurely traced, by aid of exaggerated pictures of Egyptian conquests, and of doubtful popular legends first collected by Greek travellers and historians on the one hand, and by faint traces of the presence of Assyrian influences in the valley of the Nile, brought to light chiefly by philological investigations.

The connexion of Phœnicia, in which name must be included all the land of Palestine and the nations who inhabited it, with Egypt, and especially with Lower Egypt, is broadly marked by many common features in religion, in mythology, and language; but the only people of Semitic origin who

have left a written history, by which their connexion with Egypt can be traced, are the Hebrews.

3. In this history, however, only two points of connexion between the Hebrew race and the Egyptian people, at a very early time, are marked; the conquest of Jerusalem by an Egyptian Pharaoh in the time of Rehoboam, and the Exodus of the children of Israel under the leadership of Moses. At the epoch of the conquest of Jerusalem, the most glorious times of the Egyptian monarchy had long passed away, and the second of these events is separated from the former by a period of time which has not been, and perhaps cannot be, accurately measured.

Whatever may be the interval of time between these two events, it is unmarked by any distinct points of connexion between the two peoples; the history of the Hebrews for this period is vague and scanty, while the monumental records of Egypt, though exhibiting the constant connexion of Egypt with Phœnicia and Canaan, afford no distinct references to the people who, once settled on the frontiers of Egypt, had been formed into a nation in the land watered by the Jordan. It is true that the fragments we possess of Egyptian literature are extremely scanty, and very obscure. The mysterious characters engraven on the surface of these monuments were at one time supposed to contain the hidden wisdom and philosophy of the Egyptians, whose reputation produced so deep an impression on the Greeks. When the brilliant discoveries of Champollion first solved the enigma of hieroglyphic writing, it was not unreasonably hoped, that the history of Egypt, and the secrets of her boasted wisdom, would be fully and completely recovered by the translation of the innumerable inscriptions which cover the walls of her temples, palaces, and tombs. This hope has not been realized to the extent that was expected; a history, it is true, but still fragmentary, and as to great periods of time very obscure, has undoubtedly rewarded the painful labours of those who have

devoted themselves to its recovery, but the historical results obtained from the monumental inscriptions bear no comparison with those which belong to the domain of mythology or religion.

4. The monuments have indeed most copiously illustrated the social and domestic life, the agriculture, the arts, and the religion of the Egyptians; while the pictured exploits of warlike monarchs, and the representations of foreign conquests, exaggerated by a not unnatural vanity, supply scanty materials for the external relations of the kingdom. The history of Egypt is not, nor could it be, written on her monuments, though we now know that as early as the fourteenth century before the Christian era, Egypt possessed a written literature, whose recovery would be of inestimable value for the investigation of Egyptian history.

Nearly all the literature of Egypt which has been preserved to our time, that is, in the historical and poetical *papyri*, appears to date from the grandest period of Egyptian history, the reigns of the great Ramesside kings of the nineteenth dynasty, under whom Asia had been opened up to the Egyptian people by a series of brilliant and victorious expeditions. Under these kings, whose renown was connected by the Greeks with the name of Sesostris, there flourished in Egypt, and particularly at Thebes, the then metropolis of the empire, Egyptian writers of works of history and fiction, on morals and on art. The power of interpreting the hieratic character in which these works are written, is even yet incomplete; but already the most valuable results have rewarded the labours of those scholars who have undertaken this most difficult and laborious branch of Egyptian research. The clearer insight which we may hope to obtain into Egyptian history, and the knowledge to which the Egyptians had reached, in astronomy, and in the arts and sciences in general, can be expected to be derived only from the hieratic *papyri*, the true written literature of ancient Egypt. The names of

more than twelve authors, who flourished in the fourteenth century, B.C. have been preserved. A poem in honour of Rameses II. was written by Pentaour, chief librarian of the college at Thebes; a work of fiction by the same author has been translated by M. de Rougé; Mr. Goodwin has translated a valuable fragment of an historical treatise; Mr. Birch and M. de Rougé the account of an extraordinary embassy from Thebes to Assyria, in the time of one of the kings of the twentieth dynasty, later, therefore, than the time of the Theban literati before mentioned. A treatise on morals professes to have been written in the time of the fourth or fifth dynasty,[1] while the great medical *papyrus*, from the library of the temple of Phtha at Memphis, translated by M. Chabas,[2] claims to have derived a portion of its contents from a more ancient work, written by the chief physician Neterhotep, and buried by him at the foot of a statue of Anubis, at an epoch anterior to the building of the Great Pyramid.[3] It appears that the modern writers of the fourteenth century, B.C. endeavoured to enhance the value of their works by attributing to them the sanctity of the venerated names of antiquity.

It has been thought that even among the few remains of this Egyptian literature we are so fortunate as to possess, contemporary records of the transactions which preceded and accompanied the Hebrew Exodus, have been discovered.[4] The translation hitherto offered of these documents appears, however, too faithfully to represent the obscurity of the originals, to enable us to avail ourselves, with the certainty which in such matters is indispensable, of the valuable addition to our knowledge of this event, which such a discovery would

[1] Brugsch, Hist. d'Egypte, p. 30.

[2] A useful work has been published by M. Iolowicz, entitled, "A Catalogue Raisonné of all Books, Academic Dissertations, and Articles in Transactions and Periodicals, relating to Egypt, published to the end of 1857; with a Supplement brought down to 1860. Leipzig, 1861."

[3] Recueil des Mon. Egypt. part ii, p. 113.

[4] The Exodus Papyri, by the Rev. D. J. Heath. London, 1855.

undoubtedly supply. Future discoveries may perhaps tend to confirm the truth of the conclusions drawn from these documents by their learned translator, but it would be premature at the present time to rely on them as affording the desired indications for fixing the date of the Exodus.

5. The Exodus, or departure of the Israelites from Egypt, affected in its results the fortunes of the two peoples, the Hebrews and the Egyptians. The former have given an account of the transaction; it is reasonable to expect that some record of the event should have been preserved in the historical memorials of the latter. Manetho, the Egyptian historian, who in the time of the first Ptolemies rendered the Egyptian annals in the Greek tongue, recorded the occurrence of two separate expulsions of a foreign people from the land of Egypt, under circumstances many of which appear common to both; and in both traditions a connexion with the Exodus of the Hebrews appears to be indicated, in the one by the statement that the people thus expelled settled in the land of Phœnicia, where they built the city of Jerusalem; in the other by the statement that the leader of the revolted Egyptians, who were ultimately driven from the land, bore the name of Moses. These traditions, though they have some common features, and have probably in the course of time been to some extent confounded together, relate to two different transactions, and which of these is the Egyptian tradition of the Hebrew Exodus, is a question which, long undecided, has at length, it is asserted, been conclusively settled. The latest investigators of Egyptian history and chronology have fixed the date of the Exodus in the year 1314 B. C.; and the Pharaoh under whom this event took place has been decided by the great authority of Dr. Lepsius, partly on traditional, partly on monumental evidence, to have been Menephtha I, a king of the nineteenth dynasty of the Egyptian sovereigns, according to the history of Manetho. In this opinion most of the continental writers have agreed. M. Bunsen,

indeed, commenced his learned and extensive work on Egyptian history by declaring that he would in his third book endeavour to prove the impossibility of the Exodus having taken place under a king of the nineteenth dynasty. But by the time the learned writer had arrived at his third book, he had adopted the views of Dr. Lepsius, and agreed in the opinion which placed the Exodus in the reign of Menephtha.[5] Among English writers Miss Corbaux, who has very ably investigated the history of the Canaanite and Philistine tribes in their connexion with Egypt, fixes on the year B. C. 1291 for the date of the Exodus,[6] while Mr. Palmer assigns the same event to the year B. C. 1650.[7]

6. Turning from the date of the Hebrew Exodus to that of the building of the Pyramids, we may inquire of the same authorities, at what epoch it has been ascertained that those great monuments of the Old Empire were constructed.

A very remote but undefined antiquity has always by general consent been assigned to the Pyramids, the oldest remaining monuments of the Egyptians.[8] These oldest monuments, moreover, are precisely the most wonderful of the works of art left by that extraordinary people. Such a work as the Great Pyramid, attributed by Herodotus to Cheops, is itself evidence of many previous generations of men peacefully settled on the soil, of a social organization, of a separa-

[5] Egypt's Place in Universal History, vol. i. p. 184.

[6] Historical Introduction, and Chronological Appendix to Mr. Heath's Exodus Papyri.

[7] Egyptian Chronicles, London, 1861.

[8] Some modern writers, however, appear inclined to deny even a moderate antiquity to these monuments:—"Taking into consideration all the evidence respecting the buildings and great works of Egypt extant in the time of Herodotus, we may come to the conclusion that there is no sufficient ground for placing any of them at a date anterior to the building of the temple of Solomon, B. C. 1012."—*Historical Survey of the Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 440. The same writer is of opinion that, "according to the Egyptian chronology of Herodotus, so far as it can be determined from his account, the three pyramid kings—Cheops, Cephren, and Mycerinus, reigned from about 913 to 813 B. C."—*Ibid.* p. 439. Sir G.

tion of classes, a division of labour, a condition of society permitting the accumulation of wealth in comparatively few hands, and the employment of that wealth in the creation of articles of utility and luxury. We may not be inclined to agree with Baron Bunsen in placing the beginning of Egyptian nationality at 10,000 years before the Christian æra,[9] but we may safely assert, that many generations of artists, stone-cutters, smiths, and builders, must have preceded the men who devised the plan, carried into execution the details, and performed the workmanship, of the granite passages and chambers of the Great Pyramid.

How far back in time the foundation of the social polity of which this monument is a result, may reach, we shall probably never be able to ascertain, but we may reasonably hope to satisfy a not altogether idle curiosity as to the period when the monument itself was constructed. Here, as in the case of the Hebrew Exodus, a difference of opinion exists. On turning to the chronological tables of Dr. Lepsius, we find, indeed, a regular series of dates, embracing the whole period of Egyptian history from its commencement to its close, in which every Egyptian Pharaoh finds his place, with the number of years which mark the duration of his reign. But we further find that other authorities entertain different opinions on the dates to be assigned to these several kings; that, in fact, there is more than one Egyptian chronology, and that we have an ample choice of different authoritative dates for the same event. These different dates are, moreover, in many cases, separated by such wide intervals of time, amounting in some instances to hundreds of years, that we are compelled to a choice of authorities for the chronology of any given event. In the case of the builder of the Great Pyramid, Shufu, the Cheops of Herodotus, we find the æra of this ancient Pharaoh thus variously estimated.

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Lewis has taken a strange view of the existing evidence as to the age of these monuments.

[9] Egypt's Place in Universal History, vol. iv. p. 488. English edition.

The æra of Cheops or Shufu, the builder of the Great Pyramid, is, according to—

| | |
|---|---|
| Le Sueur[10] . . . . . | 4975 B. C. |
| Brugsch[11] . . . . . | 3657 B. C. |
| Lepsius[12] . . . . . | 3426 B. C. |
| Bunsen[13] . . . . . | 3229 B. C. |
| Poole[14] . . . . . | 2352 B. C. |
| Palmer[15] . . . . . | 1903 B. C. |

Between the highest and lowest of these estimates of the æra of the builder of the Great Pyramid at Memphis we have a difference of no less than 3072 years:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Between Palmer and Lepsius . | 1523 years. |
| Between Brugsch and Poole . | 1305 years. |
| Between Brugsch and Bunsen . | 428 years. |
| Between Brugsch and Lepsius . | 231 years. |
| Between Bunsen and Lepsius . | 197 years. |

7. A similar variety of opinion on the date of other events in Egyptian history is naturally to be expected from the same writers, and in fact we find the æra of the commencement of Egyptian history, the reign of Menes, who, according to the Greek writers and the Egyptian Manetho, was the first mortal or historical king of Egypt, the founder of Memphis, and consolidator of the Egyptian empire, thus computed:—

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[10] Chronologie des Rois d'Egypte, ouvrage couronné par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut de France. Par J. B. C. Lesueur, Membre de l'Institut. Paris, 1847.

[11] Histoire d'Egypte dès les premiers temps de son existence, &c. Leipzig, 1859.

[12] Königsbuch der alten Aegypten. Berlin, 1858.

[13] From Lepsius' Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, &c. London, 1853.

[14] Horæ Egyptiacæ, or the Chronology of Ancient Egypt, &c. London, 1851.

[15] Egyptian Chronicles, with a Harmony of Sacred and Egyptian Chronology. By William Palmer, M.A. 2 vols. London, 1861.

| | |
|---|---|
| Le Sueur . . . . . | 5773 B. C. |
| Brugsch . . . . . | 4455 B. C. |
| Lepsius . . . . . | 3893 B. C. |
| Bunsen . . . . . | 3643 B. C. |
| Poole . . . . . | 2717 B. C. |
| Palmer . . . . . | 2224 B. C. |

Here the difference in opinion as to the starting-point of Egyptian history is no less than 3549 years, a difference amounting to more than the whole period assigned to the entire history by some of these writers. The difference—

| | |
|---|---|
| Between Palmer and Lepsius amounts to | 1669 years. |
| Between Poole and Lepsius . | 1176 years. |
| Between Brugsch and Bunsen . | 812 years. |
| Between Brugsch and Lepsius . | 562 years. |
| Between Bunsen and Lepsius . | 250 years. |

The difference between Bunsen and Lepsius as to the date of the commencement of Egyptian history is only 250 years; at another point (the commencement of the seventh dynasty of Manetho), this difference in their computation is reduced to seven years; but at the next point of comparison, the commencement of the twelfth dynasty, it suddenly assumes the startling proportion of 471 years, thus:—

| | Approximate date of beginning of dynasty. Bunsen. | Lepsius. |
|---|---|---|
| Seventh dynasty . | 2967 B. C. . . | 2960 B. C. |
| Twelfth dynasty . | 2801 B. C. . . | 2330 B. C. |

This last difference is mainly dependent on the different view taken by these two distinguished Egyptian scholars as to the duration of what is termed the Hyksos period or the Middle Empire. To this, Bunsen attributes a duration of more than nine, Lepsius of about five, centuries. For the period of the Old Empire, including the first twelve dynasties of kings, Lepsius allows 1730, Bunsen 1076 years, making a

difference in their calculations for this period, of no less than 654 years.

8. Sir Gardner Wilkinson, without committing himself to any fixed dates for the earlier periods of Egyptian history, at one time assigned for the æra of Menes the year B. C. 2201,[16] and afterwards increased this to B. C. 2320,[17] asserting what is evidently true, though not acknowledged by the generality of writers on the subject, that "we have no authority further than the uncertain account of Manetho's copyists, to enable us to fix the time and the number of reigns between his accession and that of Apappus.[18]

The same author, however, fixed the date of the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty, upon a collation of the monumental evidence and the Greek lists, at the year B. C. 1575.

The dates for this, which is one of the most important starting-points for the investigation of Egyptian chronology are, according to—

| | B. C. |
|---|---|
| Palmer . . . . . | 1748 |
| Brugsch . . . . . | 1706 |
| Lepsius . . . . . | 1684 |
| Bunsen . . . . . | 1638 |
| Sir G. Wilkinson . . . . | 1575[19] |
| Poole . . . . . *circa* | 1525 |

being a difference of 223 years between the highest and lowest dates assigned to this by no means remote event in Egyptian history.

9. It is evident that the subject of Egyptian chronology is

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[16] Topography of Thebes. 1835.

[17] Manners and Customs, vol. i. pp. 5, 11. 1837.

[18] Topography of Thebes, p. 506-509.

[19] But in his notes to Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. Appendix, Sir G. Wilkinson places the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty in B. C. 1520, and seems inclined to allow the Exodus to have taken place in the reign of Phthamen or Menephtha, about the middle of the thirteenth century, B. C.

not in a satisfactory state, and that, before accepting the date which MM. Bunsen and Lepsius have fixed upon for the Hebrew Exodus, we require to ascertain upon what grounds they have come to an unanimous conclusion on one point in their chronology, while upon so many others their difference is so wide and so irreconcileable. For on the date to be assigned to the Hebrew Exodus depends the binding up with this event, one of two traditions preserved by the Egyptian and Greek historians, each of which has by different writers been considered to apply to the history of the Israelites, and which differ so materially in the colour which they give to the events related, that it becomes a matter of considerable interest to ascertain, which of these two traditions is to be considered as the Egyptian tradition of the event recorded in the Old Testament narrative; and as the Hebrew Exodus is the earliest point of contact, where Egyptian and Hebrew tradition meet, its date, if clearly ascertained, will form a chronological fixed point, from which to ascend to the earlier epochs of Egyptian history. A knowledge of the true date of the Exodus is the first step towards acquiring a knowledge of the true date of the Pyramids.

10. As all the eminent writers on Egyptian history or chronology, whose works have been before noticed, have had before them precisely the same materials, it becomes a matter of some interest to ascertain how it is that they have arrived at such very different results from calculations based upon the same data. It is evident that there must be some great source of confusion in the materials themselves, or some grave error in the methods adopted in their employment.

These materials are chiefly :—

1. The traditions or history preserved by the Greek writers, especially Herodotus and Diodorus.
2. The fragments of a history of Egypt written by Manetho, an Egyptian priest, about B.C. 280, preserved by Josephus, and the lists of Egyptian sovereigns

compiled from that history, and commented on by the Christian chronologers, Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus.

3. Other dynastic lists derived from Egyptian sources, but preserved in a mutilated or corrupt form; the old Chronicle, and the book of Sothis.
4 The list of Theban kings by Eratosthenes, of a special character.
5. The Turin Papyrus, or fragments of a list of kings, written in the hieratic character, of the supposed date of the fourteenth century, B. C.
6. The Egyptian monuments, including all other native Egyptian documents, whether written or sculptured.

11. Of these the most important are necessarily the Egyptian monuments themselves. The splendid results of Champollion's genius have been largely added to of late years by other labourers in the same field, and the majority of the Egyptian inscriptions can now be satisfactorily interpreted, by those who, like Lepsius, Birch, Brugsch, and De Rougé, have made them a special study.

The Egyptian monuments, however, afford no direct data on which an Egyptian chronology can be framed.

A chronological arrangement of the various events of a history, exhibited in their true order of succession, and marking the intervals of time between them, implies the existence of some fixed point of time or conventional epoch, to be taken as the starting-point from which the successive events may be reckoned, and also some standard measure of time with which the intervals may be compared.

The Egyptians possessed the latter, but if they possessed, did not ostensibly employ the former, in the earlier periods of their history. Their division of time consisted of the hour divided into lesser parts, a day of twenty-four hours, a week of ten, a month of thirty, and a year of 365 days. But the only method of dating an event, found upon the Egyptian monu-

ments, consists in the statement of the year of the reign of an individual monarch. The inscriptions abundantly record such dates as that of "the second day, the first month, the fourth year of the reign of Rameses," "the twentieth year of the reign of Sesortasen," &c. We can ascertain by a comparison of inscriptions that Sesortasen reigned before Rameses, but the monuments afford no means of comparing the date of the reign of either monarch with any fixed point of time, or of computing how many years either before or after the Christian æra either may have lived, nor, unless the two monarchs happened to stand in some near relationship to each other, as that of father, son, or grandson, of estimating the interval which separated their reigns.

Lepsius has strongly insisted that the Egyptians who, it is asserted, were at a very early period in possession of considerable astronomical knowledge, calculated the revolutions and orbits of the planets, the times of the occurrence of lunar and solar eclipses, and the length of the cycle which brought the vague and the fixed solar year again to the same point in time, *must have had* a fixed chronological æra. As the whole question of Egyptian chronology hangs more or less on this point, we will give the views of the learned Prussian professor on the subject at some length.

"All the astronomical observations which the Egyptians, according to Aristotle, Diodorus, and others, made from the earliest times, would have been altogether unprofitable unless connected by a fixed cycle and the thread of historical events; they could not even have been preserved without this first condition of their usefulness. It is not possible to make any important progress in astronomy and technical chronology, to determine the revolutions and orbits of the planets, to calculate the return of solar and lunar eclipses, and to fix the calendar of cyclical periods of long duration, without a fixed chronology of events, especially of reigns, by which the people might parcel out the time. Hipparchus could make no use of the

Chaldæan observations before the æra of Nabonassar, and was obliged to lay aside the observations of the Egyptians, because he possessed no Egyptian astronomical canon. When in the course of time the necessity arose, as it must have arisen for the learned among the Egyptians, for an astronomically accurate list of sovereigns, then also would arise the idea of an æra, which consists merely of the conventional establishment of an epoch with which subsequent events can be connected.

"An opinion is generally entertained, that the Egyptians alone, of all the most considerable nations of antiquity, had no chronological æra, and that this oldest historical people allowed themselves to be anticipated in this most important point, without which all connected history would be resolved into unconnected fragments, by the Chaldeans, Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, Indians, and Chinese. Only the most weighty positive evidence can force us to entertain so unintelligible an opinion; and this, as far as I see, is altogether wanting.

"It is known that on the monuments the dates of events are given, not by means of any æra, but by the regnal years of individual kings. Such was the general practice of the ancients on official monuments and in the ordinary affairs of life, while the use of chronological æras was almost entirely confined to the learned. But that the idea and the use of an æra actually existed in Egyptian literature, is not only shown by the development of their astronomy and chronology, and the fact of regular chronicles carried back to the earliest times, but is established on positive grounds.

"Of all the cycles which could fulfil the design and intention of an æra, the Sothis period was, without doubt, the best fitted for the purpose. That cycle presented the decided advantage over all others, of the most simple, regular, and ancient foundation, and was altogether relf-regulating, without priestly or scientific aid, by the exact advance of the fixed point of the commencement of the new year, one day in every four years.

The common civil calendar was the infallible and, to the simplest understanding, sufficient indicator of this fixed calendar and its period, that is, of its æra. During three years, the festival of the heliacal rising of Sothis as the new-year's day of the fixed year, was held on the same day of the civil calendar; in the fourth year it had moved one day from it. This moveable new-year's day must have been more readily kept in the remembrance of the people, than the intercalary day occurring every fourth year is by us, because their great festival was connected with its occurrence. If any one required to know the year of the Sothic æra for astronomical or chronological purposes, it was only necessary to reckon back the number of days from the first Thoth to the great Nile and Summer festival of the current year, and multiply that number by four.

"The different Sothis periods which happened in the many thousand years of Egyptian history must necessarily have been distinguished from one another. The readiest mode of doing this was by using the name of the king under whose reign the commencement of the period fell. That this actually took place we know, from the statement of the mathematician, Theon of Alexandria, who calls the Sothis period which had elapsed next before his time, the æra of King Menophthes, under whom it began, as a well-known and established name. If the last Sothis period were named after King Menophthes, we must suppose that the one preceding was named after King Phiops or Apappus, the Pepi of the monuments, because it commenced in his reign.

"In discussing the history of the Egyptian calendar, it is not necessary to suppose, that the idea of an æra had been connected with it at so early a period, because the commencement of an æra is in general, first fixed proleptically at a later period. At all events, no reckoning by Sothis periods could have taken place until after the foundation for this period had been laid by the establishment of the vague solar year; there-

fore not before the fourth, not even before the sixth dynasty, because according to our views the first Memphite solar calendar was then arranged at Thebes. Previously either no æra was in use, or a different one. But without an æra there can be no authentic chronology of events. It appears to me, that the historical character of the fourth dynasty necessarily supposes, that at that time a fixed starting-point for the collocation of the first and following dynasties, and for the annals of the kings, fragments of which are still before us in the work of Manetho, was in existence and universally accepted by the Priest-caste. This starting-point could be no other than the actual or later received epoch of the commencement of the reign of the first king MENES, which was also the commencement of Egyptian history, that is, history awakened to consciousness by the mighty commotion of the disunited empire. Of this we find positive evidence in the inestimable Royal Papyrus of Turin, in which in fact we find, that the lists of the kings of the Old Empire are not only comprised in dynasties and represented with the years of the individual reigns as well as the sum total of the years of each dynasty, but in which also is observed twice, and perhaps three times, a reference back to Menes as the commencement of the historical æra, which was rendered necessary by the existence of contemporaneous dynasties.

"Since these annals were first written at the commencement of the New Empire, it must follow that the use of the Sothis period as an historical æra, was adopted about the time of the then following change of the Sothis period, and that the whole of the earlier history, as well as the mythological history of the gods, was reset in this new and more convenient framework not earlier than the fifteenth century before the Christian æra. The idea of an æra beginning with Menes, not only does not exclude the opinion, but renders it very probable that it was established, not in the time of Menes, but at a later period. The necessity for it would arise when the

list of individuals worthy of remembrance became too large to be retained with certainty without some subordinate arrangement of great spaces of time. When this epoch commenced in Egypt, it would be difficult exactly to ascertain; but it appears to me very possible that this higher necessity sprung up first, through the rapidly developing greatness of the kingdom towards the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth dynasty, and soon called forth the important invention of the solar calendar. That annals of the kingdom and a chronologically regulated history might have been preserved by so cultivated and advanced a people as the Egyptians must at that time have been, even without a fixed æra and a calendar perfected by its means, needs no further proof. But if on this account a less amount of certainty be ascribed to the individual chronological statements of the first dynasties, not the less must a fully historical character be adjudged to this period."[20]

12. These observations, coming from a writer entitled to speak with authority on all subjects connected with Egyptian history and antiquity, are deserving of serious consideration, but it is to be feared that, except in so far as they relate to the employment by the Egyptians of a chronological æra, attached to the name of the first of their kings, Menes, they are not borne out by the evidence at present in our possession. Evidence of the employment of the Sothis period as a chronological æra by the Egyptians, is absolutely wanting, while, on the other hand, indirect evidence does exist that they did not so employ that astronomical cycle centuries after its recommencement in B. C. 1322.

It seems, moreover, as far as can be judged from the astral representations on the monuments hitherto discovered, that the astronomical knowledge of the ancient Egyptians has been very much overrated; that their observations of the

[20] Chronologie der Egypter. Einleitung, pp. 236-240.

rising and setting of the fixed stars and of the planets, were of a very rude description; and that there is no evidence of their having had the skill to calculate either the true revolutions and orbits of the planets, or solar or lunar eclipses.

With the single exception of the observation of the heliacal rising of the star Sothis, we know of no observations of the heavenly bodies made by the Egyptians which can properly be termed astronomical. Even the tables of the rising of the fixed stars for every fifteen days throughout the year, appear to have had more a mythological than an astronomical purpose. As M. Lepsius has himself observed when disputing the dates assigned by the calculations of M. Biot to the table of fixed star-risings in the tomb of Rameses VI, these representations are so carelessly and ignorantly executed, that they have no pretensions to anything resembling mathematical accuracy.[21] The whole Egyptian mind appears to have been directed to the creation and contemplation of a mythological drama, of which the dramatis personæ were divinities innumerable, and the scene of whose action lay as much, or more, in a future world than in the present. That Hipparchus was unable to employ the astronomical observations of the Egyptians, has been explained on the supposition, that the numerous revolutions and distractions of the country prevented or destroyed the registration of a continued series; but this supposition is not well grounded. We see upon the monuments that no revolution, no conquest, disturbed the serenity of the Egyptian priesthood. The ruler *de facto* was with them the ruler *de jure*. Persian, Ethiopian, or Assyrian monarch, infidel, unclean, or tyrant as he might be, received at their hands precisely the same titles and the same mythological status as a native sovereign. He was the "beneficent god, the holy one, the lord of life, the ruler

[21] Königsbuch, p. 159.

of both worlds; beloved of Phtha, of Amun, or of the Sun;" qualified by the same titles and endowed with the same divine attributes as a Sesortasen or a Rameses. The capture of Memphis or Heliopolis could not have distracted the star-gazers of Thebes or Elephantine. That the Egyptian scribes had a chronological æra from which all their reckoning was counted, and that this was the æra of Menes, is proved by the evidence of the Royal Papyrus. That this æra was altogether a fictitious one, we shall show hereafter; while that the mode in which they made use of it could lead to nothing but confusion, is almost universally admitted. A system that placed any number of provincial rulers—all living at the same time—in a continuous series, and added up the duration of their respective reigns, so as to represent the reigns of ten contemporaneous sovereigns, each reigning ten years, as occupying an entire period of one hundred years, can hardly be considered a chronological system. How far the perplexities of such a tangled skein may be unravelled, by aid of the monuments, in skilful hands, is altogether a different question. Probably M. Lepsius might have succeeded in so doing, if he had not entered upon the task with his hands closely fettered by the supposed authority of Manetho.

13. Bunsen's opinion appears to be, not that the Egyptian priests had any knowledge of a chronological æra, but that they possessed a secret key to the enigma which their mode of registering events presented.

"We possess," he says, "in the Turin Papyrus, a picture of the condition in which the information respecting the kings of the Old Empire and its chronology was transmitted to the New. This was a state of confusion. The method of the Egyptian priests was an imperfect one. A so-called æra, *i. e.* a continuous chronology, they did not possess in their history; but merely sums total of regnal years. The key the priests kept to themselves. It was too closely bound

up with all their mysteries—especially the arrangement of their festivals and the Canicular period of 1461 years—for them to permit it to attain general publicity by means of books. Their patrician colleagues in ancient Rome did not allow it for many centuries among a far more advanced and a free people.

"We have, therefore, a good right to term this the 'Egyptian method,' on account of the predominance of the Dynastic over the Chronological principle in the arrangement of the lists. It explains why the transmission of reigns from the Old and Middle Empires may be perfectly historical, as it evidently is, and yet not be strictly chronological. Originally, indeed, with such a mode of proceeding, there must have been a historical and chronological key, by means of which, the place of each king mentioned might be ascertained, and the connexion between the sum of the regnal years and the chronology, as regarded each individual dynasty, as well as the whole empire, be established.

"Probably even in early times, historical remarks—a sort of annals—were annexed to the lists. These are implied by the Papyrus, as well as by Manetho. Such historical illustrations, however, as we possess, were only made by the Epitomists, who collected them from Manetho's history. The Hyksos period, from the beginning of the New Empire downwards, produced almost the same effects upon the annals of the Old Empire, as did the destruction of the Tsin dynasty upon the Chinese annals."

"For the Old Empire, Eratosthenes created the Menes chronology, or rather, restored it out of the confused traditions which were rescued from oblivion, and handed down from the Old to the New. The monuments of the former establish the fact, that a continuous chronology of this kind could no more have been in use then, than it was at the latter period, or than it ever was in China. We find no certain dates of reigns on the monuments earlier than the sixth

dynasty of Manetho. Names of kings, on the other hand, are found on contemporary monuments at a very early stage."[22]

It is inconceivable that the Egyptians, or indeed, any other people, should have attempted to register and number their kings without having any fixed point to start from. In any case the twentieth king must have been the nineteenth after number one; and for the Egyptians that number one was Menes. We see from the evidence of the Royal Papyrus and the statements of Herodotus, that such, in fact, was their chronological method. If they had had only one uninterrupted line of kings, this method would have been as perfect as need be. In the way they used it, it has become a source of endless confusion.

14. The great number of royal names discovered on the Egyptian monuments would be of little value without the aid of some written traditions, in addition to those furnished by the monuments themselves, by means of which we may arrange them in their proper groups, and ascertain the position of each individual in one or more continuous series.

The information collected by Herodotus from statements made to him by the Egyptian priests; the traditions collected by Diodorus and other writers of a later date; the Old Chronicle; the Book of Sothis, and the List of Eratosthenes, comprise nearly all the sources external to the Egyptian documents themselves, on which we have to rely.

15. Of the numerous "Egyptiaca," or works relating to Egyptian history, mythology, and antiquities, written by various authors—Apion, Ptolemy of Mendes, Chæremon, and others—that of Manetho is the only one of which some fragments, owing to a fortunate literary dispute, have been preserved; and consequently the History of Manetho, or rather, the list of kings compiled from that work by unknown

[22] Egypt's Place, &c., vol. ii. p. 4.

persons, have ever been the chief foundation on which the superstructure of Egyptian chronology has been raised. However low a value we may place upon the figures of these lists, it is very clear, that without the lists themselves, our notions of the history and chronology of Egypt would be far more restricted and less clear than they are at present.

Manetho, an Egyptian by birth, is said to have been a priest of Sebennytus in the Delta, in the time of Ptolemy Soter, son of Lagus, and of Ptolemy Philadelphus, his successor, who ascended the throne as sole monarch B. C. 284. Both these monarchs were great patrons of learning, and it is said to have been at the express desire of Ptolemy Soter, that Manetho composed his Egyptian History. He was also the reputed author of other works on Egyptian theology and philosophy, which have been cited by Plutarch, Porphyry, Œlian, and others, and his great reputation appears to have caused his name to be affixed to some spurious works on Egyptian chronology. The historical work of Manetho was written in Greek, and entitled, "Three Books of Egyptian History." All that has been preserved of it in a connected form, is contained in the work of Josephus, his "Answer to Apion." From these fragments—some of which Josephus professes, not perhaps, altogether with truth, to have extracted verbatim from Manetho's history—we can judge of the nature of that work, its original form, and its connection with the lists which the Christian chronographers have compiled from it.

16. Josephus, in his "Answer to Apion," was concerned only with the history of the Jews, and in defending the character of his countrymen from the malicious misrepresentations which Apion and other Alexandrian Greeks had circulated respecting them. He has, therefore, inserted in his treatise, only such extracts from Manetho as relate to the Shepherd conquerors of Egypt, whom he wished to identify with his ancestors; and such traditions as were thought to

relate to the Exodus of the Israelites. For this purpose, he makes three extracts from the work of Manetho:—

1. The history of the Shepherd invasion. 2. That of their expulsion by the kings of the eighteenth dynasty. 3. The story told by Manetho of the revolt and ultimate expulsion from Egypt of certain leprous and impure people, who departed under the guidance of an apostate priest of Heliopolis, named Osarsiph, who afterwards changed his name for that of Moses.

The extract from Manetho which relates the history of the eighteenth dynasty, is as follows:—

——— "King *Tethmosis* reigned after this 25 years and 4 months, and he died; and his son *Chebron* ruled his kingdom 13 years; after him, *Amenophis* 20 years and 7 months; and his sister *Amesses* 21 years and 9 months; her son *Mephres* 12 years and 9 months; his son *Mephramouthosis* 25 years and 10 months; his son *Thmosis* 9 years and 8 months; his son *Amenophis* 30 years and 10 months; his son *Orus* 36 years and 5 months; his daughter *Akenchres* 12 years and 5 months; her brother *Rathotis* 9 years; his son *Akencheres* 12 years and 5 months; his son, another *Akencheres*, 12 years and 3 months; his son *Armais* 4 years and 1 month; his son *Ramesses* 1 year and 4 months; his son *Armesses Miammon* 66 years and 2 months; his son *Amenophis* 19 years and 6 months; his son *Sethosis*, who was also called *Ramesses*, having a great force both of ships and cavalry."

The extract then goes on to relate the expeditions made by Sethosis to Cyprus and Phœnicia, and also against the Assyrians and Medes. Josephus continues: "The country was called Egypt after him; for Manetho says Sethos was named Egyptus, and his brother Armais, Danaus. This is Manetho's account." In a subsequent passage he says, "Now, after Sethos had deprived the latter (Armais-Danaus) of the sovereignty, he reigned 59 years. The eldest of his two sons, Rameses, succeeded him, and reigned 66 years."

17. This historical fragment, containing the names of eighteen kings, with the duration of their reigns in years and months, bears upon the face of it, evidence of having been compiled from some genuine registers or books of annals which had been transmitted by the Egyptian scribes; such, in fact, as the Turin Papyrus or Roll of Kings, written in the fourteenth century B.C. But this extract which Josephus professes to have taken from the historical work of Manetho, not only contains numerous errors in the names and the sex of the persons enumerated, which have been made manifest by the contemporary monuments of the period; but presents no indication of a division of the kings mentioned, into dynasties.

For the sovereigns named in this passage consist of kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, as they are called in the list of Africanus; but are here presented without the slightest intimation of a division into dynasties. On the contrary, the kings of the nineteenth dynasty of Africanus, appear in Josephus as the lineal descendants of Amesses, the sister of Amenophis, who was the third successor of Tethmosis, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, and the conqueror of the Shepherds. Had it not been for the list of Africanus, we never could have imagined that the Armesses Miammon of Josephus belonged to a different dynasty from that to which Mephramouthosis belonged. The list of Africanus agrees with that of Josephus down to the fifteenth king in each, with a reign of one year—Ramesses—where they both get into confusion. Josephus has altogether omitted or misplaced the name of Sethos, the great conqueror, and attributed his exploits to a second Sethos, "called also Ramesses," who reigned nearly 100 years later.

18. Lepsius is of opinion that neither Josephus nor Africanus had the original work of Manetho before him, which had been early lost, probably in the fire which consumed the Alexandrian Library during Cæsar's fight in that city B.C.

49. That Josephus made use of two sources of information; first, of some work containing only copious verbal extracts from Manetho, which had, however, been injured by supposed emendations and glosses; secondly, from a list of kings which had been compiled for the use of the Jews, not by Josephus himself, extending from Amosis the conqueror of the Hyksos, down to the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Both these sources were different from the Dynastic Lists, with which Josephus was evidently unacquainted. These Dynastic Lists had originally been compiled by Manetho himself, and appended to his History. They were more sought after by chronologers than the entire work, as affording a useful compendium of the whole, and were therefore more frequently copied and more extensively circulated.[23]

The conclusion to be drawn from these opinions of Lepsius is, that the blunders and confusion apparent in Josephus' account of the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, are owing to the errors of copyists. The account of the Hyksos or Shepherd invasion, and of the Exodus, are copies of genuine verbal extracts from the historical work of Manetho, made by some unknown author at some period between the middle of the third century before, and the close of the first century of the Christian æra.

19. Africanus, bishop of Emmaus-Nicopolis, in the third; Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea in the fourth; and Georgius Syncellus, vice-patriarch of Constantinople, in the eighth century, are the writers who, next to Josephus, have preserved the materials of Egyptian chronology. The list of Egyptian kings left by Eusebius, differs very considerably in the number of kings and in the duration of their reigns, from that of Africanus, as given by Syncellus. It is universally conceded, that generally the older authority—that of Africanus—is to be preferred. It would also seem that

[23] Lepsius, Chronol., p. 545.

there were two editions of the List of Africanus, which Syncellus probably united, as the sum of the regnal years and of the number of the kings, differs from the computation which has been added at the foot of each dynasty, and which consequently must have been derived from some other list than the one now extant. This difference amounts in the total number of kings to 209; in the total number of years comprised in the thirty dynasties, to 154.

20. The Turin Papyrus or Roll of Kings, now preserved in the Museum of Turin—a manuscript in the hieratic character—had unfortunately, before it attracted the attention of Champollion in 1824, been broken up into a number of fragments. These have been restored as far as practicable; a process facilitated by the fibrous nature of the material of which it is composed.

Among the names preserved in these fragments, are those of the Egyptian divinities Seb, Osiris, Horus, &c., and the summing up of vast periods of years, as "Kings up to Horus, 23,200 years." The names of Menes and Athotis, the two first kings of the first dynasty of Manetho, are also legible.[24] We cannot but feel persuaded that precisely such a document as this was the foundation of Manetho's History, as well as of other chronicles, the Old Chronicle and the Book of Sothis. The Royal Papyrus appears to have been written at Thebes about the fourteenth century B.C., in the reign of one of the kings of the nineteenth dynasty. It therefore must have contained the names of the kings comprised in the first, and nearly, if not the whole of the second Book of Manetho; though none of the names belonging to the eighteenth dynasty have been discovered. Its chronological character is precisely that of the Manethonian lists; a consecutive arrangement of royal names, and a continuous addition of the sums of their reigns, and of the duration of the several

[24] Bunsen's Egypt, vol. i. pp. 50-55.

dynasties. It appears also that there was occasionally a reckoning up of the time back to Menes, the first mortal king. It must originally have contained a great number of names of kings, even more than those reckoned in Manetho's list; numbers for which it is difficult to account even on the doctrine of contemporaneous dynasties. Bunsen, as before mentioned, supposes that the Egyptian priests possessed a chronological key, by which they unlocked the puzzle of such a method of reckoning in history. It would seem, however, that the only key they employed was an arithmetical one, and that they counted from the first year of their first king, Menes.

21. Herodotus (ii. 142) has given an account of the method employed by the Egyptian priests in registering the succession of high priests at the Temple of Memphis.

"Thus much of the account the Egyptians and the priests related, showing that from the first king to this priest of Vulcan who last reigned (Sethon or Zet, fourth king of Manetho's twenty-first dynasty), were 341 generations of men; and during these generations there were the same number of chief priests and kings. Now, 300 generations are equal to 10,000 years, for three generations of men are 100 years; and the remaining 41 generations that were over the 300, make 1,340 years. Thus, they said, in 11,340 years no god had assumed the form of a man; neither, they said, had any such thing happened before or afterwards in the time of the remaining kings of Egypt. During this time, they related that the sun had four times risen out of his usual quarter, and that he had twice risen where he now sets, and twice set where he now rises; yet that no change in the things in Egypt was occasioned by this, either with regard to the productions of the earth or the river, or with regard to diseases, or with respect to deaths.

"Conducting me into the interior of a spacious edifice, and showing me wooden colossuses to the number I have

mentioned, they reckoned them up; for every high priest places an image of himself there during his lifetime. The priests, therefore, reckoning them and showing them to me, pointed out that each was the son of his own father; going through them all, from the image of him that died last, until they had pointed them all out; saying that each of the colossuses was a Piromis sprung from a Piromis, until they pointed out the 345 colossuses, each a Piromis sprung from a Piromis; and they did not connect them with any god or hero. Piromis means, in the Grecian language, 'a noble and good man.' They pointed out to me, therefore, that all those of whom there were images, were of that character, but were very far from being gods. That, indeed, before the time of these men, gods had been the rulers of Egypt, and had dwelt amongst men; and that one of them always had the supreme power; and that Orus, the son of Osiris, whom the Greeks call Apollo, was the last who reigned over it; he having deposed Typhon, was the last who reigned over Egypt."

If the name of the representative of each of these images were given, with the number of years he filled the office of high priest, a notice of the temple to which he was attached before his attaining that dignity, with a break here and there, summing up the number of years belonging to a particular family or order of the priesthood, we should have a register of high priests, very much resembling the Turin Papyrus or hieratic roll of kings, and, indeed, very like the work of Manetho himself.

If we suppose, further, that occasionally, owing to some religious or political convulsion, there were high priests at Thebes, Memphis, Heliopolis, and Sais, all claiming, in the nature of antipopes, to be the legitimate hierarch, the insertion of their separate registers at a future period in a general register of high priests, in successive order of time, would

give a dynastic list, framed on the same plan as the Turin Papyrus and that of Manetho.[25]

22. Dynastic lists of kings made up in this manner must necessarily be confused, but it does not follow that they are worthless; and it is a mistake to represent the Egyptian dynasties of Manetho as a mere bead-roll or string of names accompanied, at rare intervals, with a notice of some fabulous event; and to compare the information to be gleaned from them with that which would be obtained from a list of victors at Olympic games, if nothing else was preserved to us of Greek antiquity.[26] The lists of Manetho, it is true, present little more than a string of names; but of these names many are names with monuments attached. It cannot be denied that the great majority of the family or popular names of the Egyptian kings, can be read upon the monuments with as much certainty as the names of Greek personages in a Greek manuscript, and that in a great number of instances, the names given by Manetho can be identified with the royal names preserved on the monuments. It is also certain, that although the kings named in these lists are erroneously arranged in a successive line, and that contemporaneous provincial dynasties are represented as succeeding one another in chronological order, yet that there is a certain true order of succession preserved; that though the sixth dynasty may have been contemporary with the fifth, and wrongly represented as succeeding it, yet it certainly did not precede the fourth. The fact that a king, whose name is identical with that of a king entered in Manetho's fourth dynasty, is represented in a

[25] According to M. de Rougé the inscriptions demonstrate that there was a high priest at Thebes, at Memphis, and at Abydos, and probably at every sacerdotal college. The ruling dynasty may have given higher privileges to the high priest of its metropolis, so that the supreme pontificate may have passed from Thebes to Memphis and to Sais. Under the Ptolemies the supremacy certainly belonged to the high priest of Alexandria. *M. A. de Maury, in Revue Archæol.* vol. vii. p. 701.

[26] Sir G. C. Lewis, Astronomy of the Ancients, p. 358.

rock sculpture in the peninsula of Sinai, defeating a people of Asiatic type, gives to the list of Manetho a value and an interest far surpassing that which belongs to a mere list of names otherwise unknown. The lists and the monuments are the complement of each other; both must be read together, and the historical details presented by the one, will find a relative if not a precise chronological position, from the information supplied by the other.

Moreover, the chief source of error in the dynastic lists of Manetho, arising from the registration of contemporaneous provincial kings in a continuous series as imperial monarchs, ceases with the accession of the eighteenth dynasty, and the union of all Egypt under one sceptre, from about the commencement of the sixteenth century B. C. From thenceforward it is only in the comparatively rare instances of the erroneous registration of a few native kings during the rule of foreign conquerors, that such an error exists.

It is in the period anterior to the eighteenth dynasty, that the great chasms in Egyptian history and chronology occur; the attempt to fill up these by aid of the materials before noticed, has led to the formation of the various systems of Egyptian chronology, varying with the different value set by their authors, on the materials common to all, employed in their construction. Whether any one of these systems is better founded than another, or whether any one of them is to be relied on, we will now endeavour to ascertain.

## CHAPTER II.

*The Chronological Systems founded on the Egyptian Chronicles.*

1.

THE Egyptian kings whose history Manetho is supposed to have written in his Three Books, are divided into thirty dynasties, and spread over a period that, beginning with Menes, closed with Nectanebo, the last of the Pharaohs, in B.C. 340, when the Egyptian monarchy was finally overthrown by the Persians, whose dominion, in less than ten years, passed over to the Macedonians.

These thirty dynasties of Egyptian kings, in the list of Africanus amount to—

| | Number of Kings. | | Number of Years. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | By addition. | By computation. | By addition. | By computation. |
| 1st Book | 200 | 192 | 2283 | 2300 |
| 2nd Book | 246 | 96 | 2213 | 2121 |
| 3rd Book | 61 | 61 | 839 | 859 |
| Total | 507 | 349 | 5335 | 5280 |

2. In addition to the History of Manetho, there are two other Egyptian Chronicles noticed by Syncellus, which at an early period, or at least, in the three or four first centuries of the Christian æra, enjoyed a great reputation among the chronographers. These are, the Book of Sothis and the Old

hronicle. The authorship of the first of these was attributed, pparently without any other reason than the reputation taching to the name, to Manetho himself. It distributed e five races of divine and mortal kings into thirty dynasties the following order:[1]

KINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS.

First Race, of Sixteen Gods.

Dynasties 1—16, reigned 12,843 years.

Second Race, of Demigods.

Dynasty 17, of — kings, reigned 1855 years.

Third Race, of Aeriteś.

Dynasty 18, of — kings, reigned 161 years.

Fourth Race, of Mestraioi.

nasty 19, of 15 kings, reigned 438 years (commencing with Mestraim, who is Menes).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dynasty 20, of | 8 kings, | reigned 189 years. |
| Dynasty 21, of | 6 Tanite kings, | reigned 254 years. |
| Dynasty 22, of | 15 kings, | reigned 338 years. |

Fifth Race, of Egyptians.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dynasty 23, of | 3 kings, | reigned 93 years. |
| Dynasty 24, of | 6 kings, | reigned 133 years. |
| Dynasty 25, of | 5 kings, | reigned 186 years. |
| Dynasty 26, of | 6 kings, | reigned 98 years. |
| Dynasty 27, of | 3 kings, | reigned 63 years. |
| Dynasty 28, of | 4 kings, | reigned 93 years. |
| Dynasty 29, of | 3 kings, | reigned 44 years. |
| Dynasty 30, of | 9 kings, | reigned 210 years. |

" From Mestraim, who is Menes, to Amosis, who was overthrown by Cambyses, 83 kings in 12 dynasties and 2,139 years.

" The whole period of the kings of the Egyptian gods, demigods, heroes, and mortals, is comprised in 16,071 years;" that is, 11 Sothic cycles.

The Book of Sothis, therefore, brought down its history

[1] The names of the gods and kings are omitted, as not necessary to our purpose.

only to the year B.C. 525, or the æra of the Persian invasion and reckoned in all, including immortals and mortals, thirty dynasties.

3. The Old Chronicle is introduced by Syncellus in the following terms:—

"There is among the Egyptians a certain ancient chronicle by which, in my opinion, Manetho was led into error. It comprises thirty dynasties in 113 generations, in an immeasurable space of time—not the same as that of Manetho—viz. 36,525 years; first, of the Aeritæ; second, of the Mestræans; and thirdly, of the Egyptians."

The copy of the Old Chronicle to which Syncellus here refers, is the one which divides the dynasties into three races, as noticed, and to which is due all the confusion which has arisen on the subject.

"THE OLD CHRONICLE.[2]

KINGS OF THE GODS—AERITES.

Dynasty 1. Hephaistos.
Dynasty 2. Helios.
Dynasty 3. Chronos.
Dynasties 4 to 14 (of other gods).
Dynasty 15. Demigods—8 kings.

MESTRÆAN KINGS.

Dynasty 16. 15 generations.
Dynasty 17. Tanites, 8 generations.
Dynasty 18. Memphites, 4 generations.
Dynasty 19. Memphites, 14 generations.

EGYPTIAN KINGS.

Dynasty 20. Diospolites.
Dynasty 21. Diospolites.
Dynasty 22. Tanites.
Dynasty 23. Tanites.
Dynasty 24. Diospolites.
Dynasty 25. Saites.
Dynasty 26. Ethiopians.
Dynasty 27. Memphites.

The whole of the 30 dynasties 36,525 years."

[2] From the copy given in Lepsius's Chronologie, p. 459.

4. It is evident that the Old Chronicle originally, like the ook of Sothis, terminated at this point—the Persian inva- on. But the transcriber has made a mistake in counting is dynasties, and has made twenty-seven instead of twenty- x, owing to his having made the fifteen generations occupy he sixteenth instead of the fifteenth place.

The original document evidently contained thirty dynasties.

Dynasty 1. Hephaistos.
Dynasty 2. Helios.
Dynasty 3. Chronos and the twelve gods.
Dynasty 4. Demigods,

nd twenty-six dynasties of mortal kings from Menes to ambyses.

Owing to the blunder made in calling each individual god the fourteen, a dynasty, the transcriber made the demi- ds his fifteenth dynasty, and had then only eleven numbers distribute among twenty-six dynasties of kings. In order get over this difficulty, he compressed the first fifteen nasties into one, which he called the "sixteenth" dynasty fifteen generations; and then went on in regular order th the seventeenth, eighteenth, &c., down to the twenty- th. In so doing, however, he had made one number too ny, as the sixteenth dynasty ought properly to have llowed the last of the fifteen dynasties; and owing to this or, that which should be the twenty-sixth dynasty, imme- tely preceding the Persians, is counted as the twenty- venth, the number which, according to the history of Manetho, really belongs to the dynasty of Persians.

When a future transcriber wished to add the other four dynasties, down to the end of Nectanebo and the close of the thirtieth dynasty, he had only *three* places for *four* dynasties. He knew that the twenty-seventh dynasty was that of the Persians, but that number was already taken up by the Memphites. He therefore added—

Dynasty 28. Persians,
Dynasty 29. Tanites,
Dynasty 30. Tanites;

leaving out the twenty-eighth dynasty of Manetho, terme Saites, probably because it was of the least importance, con sisting of only one king, with a reign of six years.

5. In the copy which Syncellus has given of the Ol Chronicle, the mistake in the reckoning of the dynastie down to the twenty-sixth, does not appear; the fifteen gene rations (dynasties) of the Sothic cycle occupy the place t which they properly belong, filling up the first fifteen dynas ties, and succeeded by the sixteenth.

THE REIGN OF THE GODS ACCORDING TO THE OLD CHRONICLE.

| | Generations. | Years. |
|---|---|---|
| Hephaistos, to whom no time is assigned, because he shines both night and day . . . | 1 | — |
| Helios, the son of Hephaistos, reigned . . . | 1 | 30,000 |
| Chronos and the rest of the twelve gods . . | 12 | 3,984 |
| The demigods—8 kings . . . . . | 8 | 217 |
| After them 15 generations of the Sothic cycle, inscribed in 443 years . . . . . | 15 | 44 |
| Then the 16th dynasty of Tanites . . . . | 8 | 19 |
| The 17th dynasty of Memphites . . . . . | 4 | 10 |
| The 18th dynasty of Memphites . . . . . | 14 | 348 |
| The 19th dynasty of Diospolites . . . . . | 5 | 194 |
| The 20th dynasty of Diospolites . . . . . | 8 | 228 |
| The 21st dynasty of Tanites . . . . . | 6 | 12 |
| The 22nd dynasty of Tanites . . . . . | 3 | 4 |
| The 23rd dynasty of Diospolites . . . . . | 2 | 19 |
| The 24th dynasty of Saites . . . . . | 3 | 44 |
| The 25th dynasty of Ethiopians . . . . . | 3 | 44 |
| The 26th dynasty of Memphites . . . . . | 7 | 177 |
| | 100 | 36,160 |

The Old Chronicle, as Syncellus has thus given it, terminated with the close of the twenty-sixth dynasty, which was overthrown by Cambyses, B. C. 525. It then comprised exactly

ne hundred generations. But in adding the remaining four ynasties contained in the list of Manetho, the original blun- er has been perpetuated. They seem to have been copied om that other copy of the Old Chronicle, which had errone- isly made the Persians the twenty-eighth dynasty, so that hereas in that copy there was a dynasty too many, here ere was a dynasty too few, if only three more were to be dded. So the scribe inserted after the twenty-sixth dy- asty of Memphites:—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| "And after the twenty-seventh . . . . . | |
| . . the twenty-eighth dynasty of Per- | |
| sians, five generations, reigned . . . | 124 |
| Then the twenty-ninth dynasty of Tanites . . | 39 |
| And, after all, the thirtieth dynasty of Tanites, | |
| one generation . . . . . | 18 |

ius leaving out the Saite dynasty of one king, and giving to ne Persians the twenty-eighth instead of the twenty-seventh lace.

We have been thus particular in pointing out the nature and igin of this error, which clearly is only the blunder of a pyist, originating in the mistake made about the numbers of e gods, because it has been thought that this twenty-seventh ynasty has been purposely omitted, and an entire system of istory and chronology built upon this supposition.[3]

At the termination of the Chronicle, Syncellus says,— The sum of the reigns of the thirty dynasties is 36,525 ears, which, divided by 25, gives the period of the *Apoca- astasis*, or renovation of the Zodiac fabled by the Egyptians nd Greeks, that is, its return from the same sign to the same ign, the beginning of Aries, as is explained in the Genica of Hermes and in the Cyrannic books." The sum of the num- bers given is not, however, 36,525, but 36,347, after restoring the six years of the missing twenty-eighth dynasty.

[3] See Mr. Palmer's Egyptian Chronicles.

6. We will now proceed to examine the mode in which these materials have been dealt with by the different writers on Egyptian chronology.

The method of M. Lesueur, who takes the highest estimate of Egyptian antiquity, is, in fact, a very simple one. He commences by observing[4] that there is no certainty in the results hitherto obtained. "Some writers," he says, "are too much given to dogmatism; others arbitrarily prefer this or that author, without assigning any valid reason for the preference. Struck with this want of agreement, I asked myself if it were not possible to proceed in a chronological inquiry by a purely mathematical method, that is to say, taking, in the first place, incontestable facts for a starting point, and proceeding with certainty from the known to the unknown, relying only on dates whose accuracy has been completely demonstrated. Such a base of operation I believe I have found, in the point of departure indicated in the Old Chronicle, which connects the commencement of the sixteenth dynasty with the commencement of a Sothic cycle."

The Old Chronicle, after enumerating the reigns of the gods and demigods, proceeds thus:—

"And after these, fifteen generations of the Sothic cycle were inscribed in 443 years.

"Then the sixteenth dynasty of Tanites, eight generations, 190 years."

"The Old Chronicle," says M. Lesueur, "informs us, that the sixteenth dynasty commenced after the 443rd year of a Sothic period; deducting this number from 2784 (the date of the Sothic period which commenced next before the commencement of the sixteenth dynasty) we are able to fix the commencement of the sixteenth dynasty at B. C. 2341."

M. Lesueur therefore takes the Old Chronicle as he finds it, subject to his own rectification of its numbers, without

[4] Chronologie des Rois d'Egypte, &c. p. 1.

[redacted]ying to inquire whether it is in fact a fiction, as Bunsen [redacted]s asserted, or whether his own illustrious countrymen Le-[redacted]nne and Biot were right in their opinion as to its worthless-[redacted]ss. He assumes, without even suggesting that any doubt [redacted]n arise on the subject, that the words of the Old Chronicle "And after these, fifteen generations of the Sothic cycle [redacted]cribed in 443 years," mean, as he reads them, that "fifteen [redacted]nerations were registered *down to* the 443rd year of the [redacted]othic cycle." Such a mode of proceeding certainly saves a [redacted]reat deal of trouble, but is not calculated to inspire confi-[redacted]nce. Does the passage mean, as suggested by M. Bunsen,[5] [redacted]t these fifteen dynasties were brought down to the 443rd [redacted]ar before the commencement of the Sothic cycle which [redacted]gan B. C. 1322, so as to place the commencement of the [redacted]teenth dynasty in the year B. C. 1765; or does it mean [redacted]t the whole length of the period occupied by these fifteen [redacted]nasties was 443 years? If not, what was their duration? [redacted]is latter question M. Lesueur answers most readily. His [redacted]ronological system consists simply in fixing on the year [redacted]C. 2341 for the commencement of the sixteenth dynasty, [redacted]d then for the preceding fifteen, adding up the whole of the [redacted]anethonian numbers as they are given in Eusebius, whose [redacted]hority he prefers to that of Africanus.

| | B. C. | |
|---|---|---|
| Commencement of the sixteenth dynasty | 2341 | |
| Fifteenth dynasty lasted . . . . | 250 | years. |
| Fourteenth dynasty lasted . . . | 184 | years. |
| Thirteenth dynasty lasted . . . | 453 | years. |
| Twelfth dynasty lasted . . . . | 245 | years. |
| | 3473 | years. |
| Add for the remaining eleven dynasties the total of the first book of Manetho | 2300 | years. |
| Date of Menes . . . . . B. C. | 5773 | |

[5] Egypt's Place, &c., vol. i. p. 216.

So that M. Lesueur, having taken his point of departure fr
the Old Chronicle, conducts us as far as the cabinet of t
Bishop of Cæsarea, and there leaves us. The work of
Lesueur contains a great deal of very interesting and valuab
historical matter, but its chronology is altogether fabulous

7. Mr. Palmer[6] also takes the Old Chronicle as the ba
of his rectification of the lists of Manetho and Eratosthe
but reads it in a very different manner from M. Lesue
He assumes that the commencement of Egyptian history a
the æra of Menes, are represented by the seventeenth (si
teenth) dynasty of the Old Chronicle, which thus correspo
with the first dynasty of Manetho, and that the whole peri
from Menes to Nectanebo is comprised in 1881 years, whi
added to the year of the termination of the native dynast
with Nectanebo in B. C. 345,[7] gives the year B. C. 2224
the æra of Menes. This view, the learned author of t
"Egyptian Chronicles" has laboured to support by a minu
analysis of the lists of Manetho and Eratosthenes, as well
of the monumental evidence; but the whole of his reasoni
is founded on what appears to be an entire misapprehens
of the real nature and structure of the Old Chronicle, as
shall endeavour to show when we come to consider that d
cument.

8. Dr. Brugsch, who has acquired a high and well-meri
reputation by his numerous works on Egyptian language,
tory, and antiquities, has not written specially on the chronol
of Egypt, and the dates which he has employed in the "Ca
Chronologique des Rois d'Egypte," appended to his "History
are, for the most part, the numbers of the list of Africanu
corrected by the evidence of the monuments, and by the el
mination of contemporaneous dynasties. It is to a difference

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Egyptian Chronicles.

This æra is generally reckoned as B. C. 340.

heir views as to the time which elapsed between the commencement of the eighteenth and the close of the twelfth dynasty, that the difference between the chronologies of Brugsch and Lepsius is to be ascribed.

| Commencement of | *Brugsch.* | *Lepsius.* |
|---|---|---|
| 18th dynasty . | B. C. 1706 . | . 1684 B. C. |
| 16th dynasty lasted . | 190 years | (contemporary) |
| 15th dynasty lasted . | 250 years | (contemporary) |
| 14th dynasty . . . | (contemporary) | 484 years. |
| 13th dynasty lasted . | 453 years | (contemporary) |
| Close of 12th dynasty | B. C. 2599 . . | . 2168 B. C. |

making a difference of 431 years in the respective estimates of the date of the last king of the twelfth dynasty.

The chronological system of Dr. Lepsius stands upon a different footing. Its author has developed his views in a book specially devoted to this subject, which is universally admitted to be a monument of learning. The "Chronologie der Aegypter" contains a review of all that has been produced on the subject of Egyptian chronology in the writings of the ancients, and of the results of the modern researches on the same subject. In this great work and in that of M. Bunsen, are contained the most ample data for the discussion of the questions under consideration.

10. The method employed by Lepsius, in settling the foundation of his chronology, and obtaining the date of the commencement of the reign of Menes, the first historical king of Egypt, is, in the first place, altogether external to the monumental evidence, the testimony of the Greek historians, and the dynastic lists of Manetho. It is, indeed, a matter of surprise that the chronological system of both Bunsen and Lepsius should have been erected on an empirical basis.

No doubt, wherever monumental evidence has been available, that evidence has been dealt with by the learned Prus-

sian professor, with the greatest ability. But the monume even for periods below the nineteenth dynasty leave consi rable breaks in the chain of chronological evidence; and the earlier periods beyond the eighteenth dynasty vast cha of unknown width intervene between the chronological st ing-places afforded by the monuments. These chasms h been closed by Lepsius, by aid of the charmed Manetho number of 3555 years. Whether the ground thus ma affords a firm footing to the passenger, is the question have to investigate.

11. In his great work on the chronology of the Egyptia after having set forth with consummate ability the act condition of our acquaintance with the astronomical a chronological knowledge of the Egyptians, and having co pleted the critical investigation of the Greek and Hebr traditions relating to Egyptian history, Lepsius comes sudd upon that which he makes the foundation of his chronolog system; and that, where we should least have expected to meet with it—in a passage of Syncellus. Lepsius i opinion[8] that Africanus, though he had not, in all probabi the original history of Manetho before him—or he would h given the true position and chronological relation of the seve dynasties—had preserved from genuine extracts from history of Manetho, made by his predecessors, some passag which are now of the highest importance for the true und standing of the Manethonian chronology. These passa found their way into the works of Eusebius and Syncellu who could have no earlier authority than Africanus for the notices of the history of Manetho.

The first of these notices is contained in Eusebius, an relates to the probable contemporaneousness of several of the dynasties of Manetho.

The second is found in the work of Syncellus, and is that

[8] Chronologie der Aegypter, p. 488.

h has furnished Lepsius and Bunsen with the ground-
k of their chronological systems.

yncellus is represented by Bunsen[9] as stating, "that the
d of the 113 generations described by Manetho in his
volumes, comprises a total of 3555 years." The termi-
n of this period Syncellus fixes at "about the fifteenth
before Alexander;" by which he evidently means to
esent the close of the native Egyptian sovereignty with
last Nectanebo, B. C. 340. Reckoning back from this the
7th year of the world, according to his computation, he
s the commencement of the same period in the year of
world 1586. There is an error of a few years in his
ulation, which however, for our purpose, is quite im-
erial.

hese 3555 Egyptian, or 3553 Julian years, + 340,
us the year B. C. 3893 for the æra of Menes and the
nencement of Egyptian history; and Lepsius, believing
this statement of Syncellus was derived through Afri-
is from the genuine historical work of Manetho, has
ertaken, and in the "Königsbuch" has accomplished, the
rculean labour of fitting in with the utmost exactness, all
monumental evidence of Egyptian history, to this fixed
iod of 3555 years. His Synoptic Table of the thirty his-
ical dynasties commences with the first year of Menes, B. C.
2, and ends with the last year of Nectanebo, B. C. 3556.

2. It was, of course, necessary for Lepsius to go farther
n merely express his belief in the genuine historical cha-
ter of the number 3555 years, as the true period allotted
Manetho to Egyptian history. The number was contra-
cted by the Manethonian reckoning preserved by Africanus,
nd opposed to the chronology of the Greek traditions. He
ad, therefore, in the first place to prove its genuine character
y internal evidence; and in the second, to show that it was

[9] Egypt, vol. i. p. 86.

not contradicted by the external evidence of the monume
The first part of this double task was undertaken in
"Chronologie;" the second, to some extent in the "Kön
buch."

First, as to the internal evidence of the genuineness o
number 3555.

The two documents which have been above set for
the Old Chronicle and the Book of Sothis—represent
Egyptian method of dealing with the reckoning of past ti
Whatever amount of alteration or deterioration from t
pristine form these documents may have suffered at the ha
of the chronologers, they are, without doubt, framed o
truly Egyptian model. They comprise the whole t
occupied by the reigns of gods, demigods, and mortals
a variable number of Sothic periods. The Book of So
embraces eleven such periods, or 16,071 years; the
Chronicle 25 periods, or 36,525 years; that is, the solar
rather, sidereal) cycle, multiplied by the lunar cycle, or
the Egyptians phrased it, the Sothis by the Apis cy
This practice of embracing great fabulous periods of time
astronomical cycles was known to Herodotus, who has
corded an allusion made to it by the priests of Memp
The Royal Papyrus exhibits portions of the dynasty of
gods, with indications of long periods of time attached
their names; and if we possessed this document in its entire
we should probably find that, like the Old Chronicle, it e
braced some great number of Sothic cycles, if not the 36,
years, the "annus magnus" or period of the apocatastas
or renovation of the circuit of the stars.

13. The History of Manetho certainly commenced wi
the dynasties of the gods, demigods, and heroes, as Eusebiu
states, and as the heading to the first mortal dynasty in the
list of Africanus proves. "After the heroes[10] and the demi-

[10] Νέκυες, which Eusebius translates "manes atque heroes."

comes the first dynasty of eight kings, of whom the first Menes." It may, therefore, be supposed to have comprised iod of an unknown number of Sothic cycles, and a part of Sothic cycle which commenced B.C. 1322, and was then nt and uncompleted, at the time at which Manetho closed istory, namely, the year B.C. 340; or the 982nd year of hen current Sothic cycle, which had then necessarily years more to run, and was completed A.D. 139.

ow Lepsius argues with great force, that if the number 555 years, in which Manetho is said to have comprised istory of mortal kings, is a true statement of the length he historical period, its commencement will not—dating from B.C. 340—come in contact with the commence- t of any Sothic period. If it did so, its artificial and ustworthy character would be at once detected. The ic cycles commence A.D. 139, B.C. 1322, 2782, 4242. this number of 3555 years added to the years which the complement of the current cycle at the time the ry of Manetho terminates, *i.e.* 3555 + (340 + 138) = years, or 209 years short of the year of the commence- t of the Sothic cycle of B.C. 4242, and 350 years less three complete cycles of 1461 years each.

anetho, therefore, according to this view, did not place æra of Menes and the commencement of Egyptian ory at the commencement of a Sothic period. In further port of the genuine Manethonic character of this number 5, Lepsius observes, that it is in no way connected with chronological calculations of Syncellus himself, nor results n any of his computations. Neither is it derived from calculations of the Book of Sothis: "For the false othis is a Christian compilation which could not make use f this number, but identified Menes with Mizraim, the pro- enitor of the Mizraimite race, and placed him even later han Syncellus did—in the year of the world 2848, at the poch of the Dispersion." "I look upon the impossibility

of bringing the number 3555 and the year of its comme
ment 1586 after the creation of Adam, into harmony wit
groundwork of the Book of Sothis, as the most impo
result of the investigation of that work." [11]

Eusebius has preserved in his Chronology the introdu
portion to the List of Manetho. Both Lepsius and Bu
accept it as genuine, and, as we shall see, make use
contents.

Eusebius says that Manetho wrote a history in three bo
of the gods, the demigods, the manes, and the deceased k
who had reigned over Egypt down to the time of Darius
Persian.

| | Years |
|---|---|
| The reign of the gods from Vulcan to Bytis lasted | 13,90 |
| After the gods, the race of the demigods reigned | 1,25 |
| Again, other kings | 1,8 |
| Then thirty other Memphite kings | 1,7 |
| Then ten Thinite kings | 3 |
| Then followed the reign of the manes and demigods | 5,81 |
| | 24,92 |

Altogether, he says, 24,900 years; which, shocked at
amount, he proposes to treat as lunar years, and divid
them by twelve, to convert them into solar years by reck
ing each year as a month.

We shall return to this list hereafter; at present i
produced to show the mode in which it is employed
Lepsius in confirmation of the genuine character of
number 3555. It is as follows.

14. It is evident, says Dr. Lepsius, that the order in whic
these dynasties stand in Eusebius, is faulty and should b
corrected. The second and the last are both races of dem

[11] Chronologie, p. 494.

, and should stand together before the races of kings. the reign of the demigods is repeated twice over, and ength of time assigned to the last—the kingdom of the es and demigods—is only 600 years more than the sum e whole preceding items, thus:—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Race of the demigods . . . . . | 1255 |
| Other kings. . . . . | 1817 |
| Thirty Memphite kings . . . . | 1790 |
| Ten Thinite kings . . . . . | 350 |
| | 5212 |
| Kingdom of the manes and demigods | 5813 |
| Difference . . . . . | 601 |

epsius therefore rejects the number 5212 as having been loyed twice over, and adds 601, or in round numbers 600 s, which by some accident has been mixed up with it, to reign of the demigods. Thus he obtains—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Reign of the demigods (1255 + 600) . | 1,855 |
| Other kings . . . . . | 1,817 |
| Thirty Memphite kings . . . . | 1,790 |
| Ten Thinite kings . . . . . | 350 |
| | 5,812 |
| Add the reign of the gods . . . | 13,900 |
| | 19,712 |

t this number is short of fourteen Sothic cycles by 728 rs; therefore a further correction is necessary. This is e in so ingenious a manner, that it will be advisable to e the author's own words.[12]

"We have here only two notices of the number of reigns, which in the original must necessarily have been prefixed to each dynasty. This strengthens the supposition that the

[12] Chronologie, p. 475.

difference in this last sum between Eusebius and the o
two authorities (the Old Chronicle and the Book of Sot
is owing to the erroneous interpolation of one of these it
This most probably is the second, which bears the v
appellation of 'Other kings,' without having any nu
of reigns assigned to it, or any notice of the class to w
it should belong. If these were 'demigods,' then this
pression 'kings' is erroneous; if 'manes,' then the loca
of their rule would have been mentioned; as it stands,
item cannot have been Manetho's. Whether the caus
the interpolation can be cleared up, will be seen herea
If, however, we reject it altogether, we obtain so remark
a result, that we at once feel ourselves to be on gen
original ground. For on adding up the remaining it
with the exception of the last (the ten Thinite kings,
years) whose position will shortly be most clearly shown
find—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Reign of the gods . . . | 13,900 |
| Race of the demigods . . | 1,855 |
| Thirty Memphite kings . | 1,790 |
| | 17,545 |

That is, after taking away the number twenty-five, w
Eusebius (as shown by his own computation) has erroneo
inserted, the sum of 17,520 years, or twelve Sothis per
of 1460 solar years each."

The list thus modified stands thus:—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Nineteen gods[14] . . . | 13,900 |
| Demigods . . . . . | 1,855 |
| Thirty *Memphites* . . . | 1,790 |
| Ten Thinites . . . . | 350 |

[13] That is, it does not contain exactly any number of Sothic cycles.

[14] Lepsius establishes the number of nineteen gods by a train o
reasoning, which, as not bearing on the present subject, is omitted.

We have here an omission in the number of reigns, and erfluous indication of class. The number of the demi- is wanting, and against the appellation *Memphite*, it with reason be asserted that as *Memphis* did not exist e *Menes*, this appellation must have proceeded from an ely unhistorical point of view. Moreover, we see no n why *two* ante-historical dynasties should have been nted; though we can find a very positive reason for Thinite dynasty. We therefore add together these numbers, and remove the number 30 to the demi- Then subtracting the number 25 as before, we

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Nineteen gods (13,900 − 25) . . . | 13,875 |
| Thirty demigods (1855 + 1790) . . | 3,645 |
| Twelve Sothic periods . . | 17,520 |
| Ten Thinites . . . . . | 350 |

Thus the whole of the 24,925 years allotted by Manetho, rding to Eusebius, to the gods, demigods, manes, ‘ other rs,’ Memphites, and Thinites, are disposed of in twelve ic cycles of 1460 years each, with the exception of the years allotted to the ten Thinite kings, which evidently ng to a thirteenth Sothic period. As the whole of the e dynasties have been included in twelve Sothic periods, llows that with the commencement of the thirteenth t commence the period of mortal kings. According to unanimous testimony of writers and monuments, the tory of mortal kings began with Menes. But it has been hown that the commencement of the historical period of 3555 ears does not fall at the commencement of a Sothic period. There was, therefore, a space between the termination of the livine and the commencement of the historical dynasties, hich it was necessary to fill up. The Egyptian priests who

invented this cyclical system of Egyptian mythology, only one mode of getting over the difficulty. They not interfere with the termination of the divine dyna which exactly close a Sothic period; they were ther compelled to lengthen out the human dynasties beyond historical commencement, back to the commencement o current Sothic period, in order that they might be ab give to them also a cyclical termination. For this purp would be necessary to introduce a præ-historical dyn And so, in fact, we find *one Thinite* dynasty inserted be the dynasties of the gods and Menes, the first historical The epithet *Thinite* shows that they do not belong t gods, and points them out as predecessors of Menes, wh himself styled a Thinite, and founder of the first Memp dynasty. It was natural, therefore, that his predeces should be located at This."

"Long[15] before the cyclical system of the governme the gods could be founded on the Sothic periods, which established in the course of history, MENES had already admitted into the Egyptian annals, and was maintained t the fixed chronological commencement of Egyptian hist especially of the history of Lower Egypt. His epoch c be no more altered. What happened before his time ante-historical, and might be adjusted to the cyclical neces of mythology. The only historical fact was, that other k had reigned before Menes, and indeed, in THIS. In ord distinguish them from the later kings, as being ante-histor a designation was selected with which we are not yet quainted in hieroglyphics, but which was translated in G νέκυες, 'the deceased;' here also undoubtedly establishi the idea that they were deceased *men*."

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[15] This extract from the *Chronologie der Egypter* is taken fro the translation appended to Lepsius' Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, a Sinai. London, 1853.

We may, however, certainly regard it as the most ome confirmation of the whole of our restoration of the thonian chronology, that this ante-historical dynasty of of the ten Thinite kings, the invention of whom could no other aim than the extension of the history of man e commencement of the current Sothic period, does d most accurately fulfil the purpose that was designed. f we add to the first of the 3555 Manethonic years, y, to the year B. C. 3893 (3892 Julian), the first of the of Menes, the 350 years of the Thinite νέκυες, the .C. 4242 is the result, *which was, in reality, the neces- y expected commencement year of the current Sothis d.*

This immediately explains why the number 350, although s ante-historical, and was therefore invented, is still in no cyclical number, and is in no way related to the s period. It could just as little be a Sothic number, as umber 3555 which it completed. But on the contrary, nce proves both the truthfulness as well as the historical cter of the important and genuine Manethonian number 5; and further proves that the establishment of the first torical year, or the Menes epoch, cannot first proceed from netho, but must be at least as old as the invention of the lical system of Egyptian mythology, inseparably united th it, which no one will or can ascribe first to Manetho, cause we have pointed out the same numbers belonging to e gods before his time.

"But the establishment of the discovered Menes year, ust indeed be still older than the formation of the lical system, since this is first appended to that number, d presupposes it; that is to say, *the Menes epoch designated Manetho, was one which had been given from the beginning, d was handed down historically*, and was combined in the lowing manner with the cyclical system of the history of e gods.

*Period of the Gods.*

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Gods . . . . . | 13,870 |
| Demigods . . . . . | 3,650 |
| | 17,520 = twelve Sothis pe |

*Period of Men.*

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Ante-historical dynasty . | 350 |
| Thirty historical dynasties . | 3555 |
| Foreign dominion to the time of Antoninus, A.D. 139 . . | 478 |
| | 4383 = three Sothis per |

"Thus the history of the thirty Manethonian dyna which began with Menes and comprised 3555 Egy years, was between two Sothis periods, without comi contact with them; an evident proof that they w re formed with reference to the Sothis periods."

15. The whole chronological system of Lepsius rests t fore on the genuine character of the number 3555, a true period of time said to have been assigned by Ma tho to the thirty historical dynasties. We will now exam a little more closely the evidence adduced in support of genuineness of this number.

First, the number 3555 is assumed to be true on t authority of Syncellus. Secondly, it is proved to be true by adaptation historically, to the cyclical system of time assign by Manetho, according to Eusebius, to the reigns of the go demigods, heroes, and kings. If either of these proofs f the Egyptian chronology of Lepsius, which is based up them, must be abandoned.

The whole value of the number of 3555 for Egypti history from Menes to Nectanebo, rests upon the assumpti that it is *Manetho's own number*, given by him as the r measure of the apparent period contained in his Three Boo

As to the first proof, the statement of Syncellus.
ncellus having treated of the "Book of Sothis," which
tho the high priest of the Egyptian idols had written
time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and dedicated to that
proceeds to mention the Old Chronicle, which he next
rth; and having made some remarks upon the numbers
ned in it, proceeds thus:—"Manetho, who was very
ly esteemed by the Egyptians, having written concerning
e same thirty dynasties, and clearly taken his starting-
nt from thence" (the Old Chronicle), "differs very greatly
he time, as appears from what we have said above, and
what we are about to say next; for as to the 113 gene-
ns in thirty dynasties, recorded in three books, their
altogether he has comprised in 3555 years; beginning
the year of the world 1586, and ending with the year
e world 5147, that is, about fifteen years before the
re of the world was obtained by Alexander the Mace-
an."[16]

Ve may now inquire what was it that Manetho is said to
e comprised in 3555 years? According to Syncellus it
s the 113 generations in thirty dynasties of the Old
ronicle; and, in fact, we find that the Old Chronicle does
fess to set forth and describe 113 generations in thirty
nasties, while the thirty dynasties of Manetho, as repre-
nted by Africanus, are not divided into 113 or any number
generations whatsoever. This passage occurs in the fifty-
cond page[17] of Syncellus' Chronography. In the next
ge he proceeds to treat of the Egyptian dynasties from
estraim or Menes to Nectanebo, and immediately after-
ards sets out the thirty dynasties of Manetho according to

[16] Μανεθῶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λ' (30) δυναστειῶν γράψας . . . τῶν ἱρ ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ τόμοις ριγ' (113) γενεῶν ἐν δυναστείαις λ' (30) ἀναγραμμένων, αὐτῶν ὁ χρόνος τὰ πάντα συνῆξεν ἔτη, γφνε' (3555).

[17] Bunsen's Egypt, vol. i. p. 605. He cites the edition of Syncellus after Goar, published by Dindorf in the Scriptor. Hist. Byzantin. 1829.

Africanus. Syncellus knew that these thirty dynasties
prised a period of more than 5000 years, and he con
his edition of Africanus with that of Eusebius, yet ma
comment on the extraordinary circumstance that M
should at one time have reckoned 3555, at another mo
5000 years for the same historical period. It is imp
to doubt that in the passage before quoted, Synce
speaking of a computation attributed to Manetho, in w
as he supposed, the Egyptian historian computed the
occupied by the 113 generations in thirty dynasties of
Old Chronicle at 3555 years.

It is certain also that the Old Chronicle, whatever it
have suffered at the hands of Panodorus and Anianus i
sixth century, is in its framework a genuine Egyptian d
ment, the original of which was, no doubt, a hieratic pap
older than the time of Manetho, since in its original fo
was brought down no later than the time of Cambyses,
525. Bunsen, it is true, calls it a fiction, of more recent
than the Book of Sothis. The opinions of this philol
on the subject of the cyclical time-reckoning of the Egypti
are, however, very different in his third volume to th
which he asserted in his first.[18] But whatever may be
value of the Old Chronicle, the fact remains, that accord
to Syncellus, that to which Manetho assigned the period
3555 years, was the 113 generations in 30 dynasties, record
in the Old Chronicle. It is also to be observed that Syncell
*does not say* that this period of 3555 years comprised t
time from Nectanebo to Menes, though the computation in
which he enters shows that he understood it to do so; a
we must distinguish between the tradition which he report
and the inference which he draws from that tradition.

It is beyond dispute that the 113 generations of the O
Chronicle which Syncellus says were comprised by Manet

[18] See vol. i. p. 73, and vol. iii. p. 84.

5555 years, contained the generations of the gods, demi-
ls, and mortals. We see also that the thirty dynasties of
tal kings contain only ninety-one generations, and that
remaining twenty-two generations belong to the gods and
ods.

ow Manetho did write, as Syncellus says, concerning
113 generations of the Old Chronicle; that is, the gods,
nigods, and mortals, in Three Books; but so far from
mprising them in 3555 years, he assigns, according to
psius, no less than 17,520 years, or twelve complete Sothis
iods, to the reigns of the gods and demigods alone, exclu-
e of the 5400 years of the thirty dynasties. If we go
k to the words of Syncellus, we find him saying, First,
t in his opinion Manetho was led into error by the Old
ronicle, which assigned so vast a period of time to the
ty dynasties and 113 generations; Secondly, that this
iod of time was not the same as that of Manetho; and
irdly, that Manetho comprised these same 113 generations
3555 years.

But how could Manetho be led astray by the Old Chronicle
s to the reigns of the kings from Menes to Nectanebo, when
he Old Chronicle gives for that period only 2256 years, or 1299
ears less than Manetho himself is supposed to have allowed for
he same history? It is clear that Syncellus *thought* that the
3555 years comprised the 113 generations of gods and mortals
f the Old Chronicle, and it is equally clear that he was
wrong. It is also clear that he is speaking of two distinct
things, which he has confounded together. In his introduc-
tion to the Old Chronicle, where he says that that document
contained a vast period of time, amounting to 36,525 years,
different from that of Manetho, he is referring to Manetho's
History in three books, which comprised the same series of
gods, demigods, and mortals in a period of more than 30,000
years, but not the same number as that of the Old Chronicle;
when, in a later passage he says, that Manetho comprised

the 113 generations of the Old Chronicle in 3555 years, is speaking of another history attributed to Manetho, of wh he evidently knew nothing more, and the nature of which shall have to demonstrate.

16. The effort which Lepsius has made to explain the plain statement of Syncellus, that the 3555 years prised the 113 generations of the Old Chronicle, and th fore the reigns of the gods, demigods, and mortals, sufficien attest the importance of this objection. He proposes[19] strike out the words τῶν αὐτῶν from the phrase τῶν αὐ λ' δυναστειῶν (which Böckh has called an inconsiderate st ment of Syncellus), as the interpolation of some later tr scribes. "The mention of the 113 generations," he s "is a frivolous contradiction of the immediately prece passage." Finally, the words αὐτῶν ὁ χρόνος are to altogether rejected as the marginal note of some later ca lator, which has been erroneously inserted in the text. would therefore make Syncellus say, "Manetho hav written concerning the thirty dynasties, has comprised history of those thirty dynasties in Three Books, in a per of 3555 years."

The danger to which these critical emendations and rest rations give rise, is exemplified by the fact that Böckh, n light authority on this very subject, has proposed an emen dation of the text, which would utterly destroy its value. He would substitute for αὐτῶν ὁ χρόνος τὰ πάντα συνῆξε which, as it stands, must refer to Manetho (and upon whic the whole importance of the passage depends), αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀννιανὸς and thus make Syncellus attribute the computation of th period of 3555 years, not to Manetho, but to an Egyptia monk of the sixth century of the Christian æra; who, ac cording to Bunsen, has been guilty of incredible chronc

[19] Chronologie, p. 497.

[20] Manetho und die Hundsternperiode, p. 137.

cal blunders. We must observe, however, that Böckh s not lay any stress upon his proposed correction of the t, since he concludes by declaring that he can make ning out of this number 3555, "and therefore leaves the ler to form his own opinion on it."[21]

Mr. Palmer, again, thinks it was not Manetho, but Eratoenes, who collected this number of "3555 years, ending ut fifteen years before the cosmocracy of Alexander;" proing to convert ὁ χρόνος into ὁ χρονογράφος, for which it been written contractedly.[22] And so far from looking on number 3555 as the true measure of Egyptian history n Menes to Nectanebo, Mr. Palmer represents it as made of "1674 years of kings unchronological or transferred he first and second books of Manetho, + 1881 years of history as reported by Syncellus from the computations he Old Chronicle."[23]

7. Such is the insecure foundation on which the whole of chronological system of Lepsius, and the chief part of of Bunsen has been raised; a statement by Syncellus n the meaning of which, as to who or what it is to be ferred to, the most eminent scholars, including Lepsius mself, are not agreed.

We may fully assent to the opinion of Bunsen, that this mber 3555 was not invented by Syncellus, or concocted in y other quarter to favour some particular system by tamperg with the text of Manetho, for it does not tally with any ystem of the Christian fathers or chronologers.[24] We cannot, however, assent to the conclusion of the same writer hat, "we may venture to assert that the numbers of Manetho have been transmitted to us quite as correctly as those of he Canon of Ptolemy." And when the learned Prussian ontinues, "it may, *therefore*, be held as established, that Manetho assigned to the Egyptian empire, from Menes to

[21] Manetho, &c. p. 143.
[22] Egyptian Chronicles, p. 120.
[23] Egyptian Chronicles, p. 285.
[24] Egypt, vol. i. p. 87.

the death of the younger Nectanebo, a period of 3555 years
we can only admire the easy rapidity with which he s
from the short and still unexplained remark of Syncellus
an unqualified definition of the whole chronology of Eg

18. The evidence, then, to the genuineness of the nun
3555, as the length of the historical period of Manetho
far as we have already gone, amounts to this: First, a st
ment by Syncellus in the eighth century, not referred to
authority, that Manetho comprised in that period the hist
of the 113 generations recorded in the Old Chronicle, wh
is manifestly untrue, and founded on some misconcept
either as to the author, the subject matter, or the time c
prised in that supposed history. Secondly, the opinio
Syncellus that this period commenced B.C. 3895, and te
nated B.C. 340.

This is certainly a very slight foundation on whic
raise the superstructure of Egyptian chronology. It ren
to inquire how far the number of 3555 years has been pr
to be true, for the period which elapsed between Menes
Nectanebo.

19. Before entering on this question, however, it will
convenient very briefly to examine the chronological syst
of Bunsen.

This learned writer also adopted the view, that Manet
had assigned to the Egyptian empire, from Menes to
death of the younger Nectanebo, a period of 3555 yea
But whereas Lepsius accepts the number 3555 in its entiret
as the real and true measure of Egyptian chronology, Bunse
is of opinion that Manetho was mistaken in his computation
and made the period too long by about 270 years.[26] Th
reasons he advances for this opinion are briefly these:-
Syncellus has preserved a list of thirty-eight kings, with
duration of 1076 years, which had been extracted from t

[25] Egypt, vol. i. p. 87.

[26] Id. vol. iii. p. 94.

ban registers by Eratosthenes, the illustrious astronomer geographer who filled the post of director of the Alexrian Library under Ptolemy Philadelphus, in the third tury B. C. This list Bunsen accepts as the true measure the duration of the Old Empire, comprehending the first lve dynasties, and three kings of the thirteenth dynasty Manetho. He has not been altogether successful in his parison of the names of the kings included in the list of tosthenes, with those named in the lists of Manetho; nor he been able to impress Egyptologers in general with the th of the proposition, "that the list of Eratosthenes furhes the key, hitherto sought for in vain, for understanding first seventeen dynasties of Manetho, in accordance with dates assigned by him to the duration of the empire from enes to Alexander."[27] So strongly impressed, however, is with the value of this discovery, that he does not hesitate assert that the list of Eratosthenes "establishes the fact hat the Old Empire lasted 1076 years, under thirty-eight kings," and that "were there even no contemporary monuments of the Old Empire, we must still have considered it a trustworthy record."[28] Bunsen's chronological system, then, has a double support and a double source of weakness. If Lepsius is right in his view, and 3555 years are the true easure of Egyptian history, "the clear Greek method by he application of which the lost key was discovered,"[29] is a allacy. If Lepsius is wrong in his estimate of this measure, Bunsen's chronology falls at the same time, so far as it depends on the genuineness of the same measure.

20. We will now proceed to analyse the process adopted by Lepsius for bringing out the historical value of the number 3555 as a component part of fifteen Sothis cycles, yet not itself tainted by contact either with the commencement or conclusion of a cyclical period.

[27] Egypt, vol. ii. p. 23. [28] Id. p. 23. [29] Id. p. 5.

The historical work of Manetho commenced, as we h
seen, in the same manner as the Royal Papyrus of Tu
and as, no doubt, all other registers of Egyptian soverei
with the reigns of gods, demigods, heroes, and kings, pl
by Eusebius in the following order:—

1. Reign of the gods.
2. After the gods, the heroes.
3. Again, other kings.
4. Then other thirty Memphite kings.
5. Then other ten Thinite kings.
6. The rule of the manes and heroes followed.

Now it must be conceded that these items are mispla
and that the last should be placed in juxta-position with,
even combined with the second; thus:—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| 1. Reign of the gods . . . . . | 13,900 |
| 2. Reign of the demigods . . . . | 1,255 |
| 3. Reign of manes and demigods . . | 5,813 |
| 4. Other kings . . . . . | 1,817 |
| 5. Other thirty Memphite kings . . | 1,790 |
| 6. Other ten Thinite kings. . . . | 350 |
| | 24,925 |

21. Lepsius, in order to produce the result at which
has arrived, has dealt with these figures in a very ingeniou
but at the same time in a very arbitrary manner. The firs
three items in the list are evidently mythical; it is therefore
allowable to deal with the numbers representing their duratio
in any way we may think proper, so as to produce a complete
number of Sothis periods, a form in which we know it is
probable they were originally moulded. The number 24,92
does not contain any complete number of Sothis periods, bu
stands between seventeen and eighteen such periods. It
would be allowable, therefore, to add to or subtract from th

s of the gods or heroes, the requisite number for com-
ing the number of cycles required. But it is not so with
three last of these divisions. Bunsen assigns them to the
od of purely human history; kings before Menes, his-
al royal families of provincial princes. Lepsius himself
ws that the ten Thinite kings were mortal kings—ante-
rical, but not mythical. But he is not justified in stating
these "other" and "Memphite" kings were included
Manetho among the νέκυες, a term which Eusebius trans-
*manes*; because, in truth, they are separated from the
ς, who are joined with the heroes in the third division.
he ten Thinite kings are to be retained as ante-historical
gs, the same reason must apply to the thirty Memphite
gs. If ante-historical kings of This, in Upper Egypt,
e been introduced, for the same reason, ante-historical
gs of Memphis, in Lower Egypt, have been recorded;
l there is no ground for excluding the notice of the "other
ngs" representing the chiefs of other provincial localities.
he rejection of the number 1817 from the computation is,
erefore, arbitrary and unwarranted, and we cannot accept
e remarkable result, that its rejection produces the sum of
xactly twelve Sothis periods, as a compensation for this
ntire destruction of the plan upon which Manetho formed
s cyclical system of chronology.

22. It must be admitted that unless some better and truer
de of dealing with these figures can be produced, the re-
ts arrived at by Lepsius from his method of dealing with
em, are so remarkable, so ingenious, and so admirably fitted
gether, that it seems almost impossible to doubt that the
umber 350 assigned to the ten Thinite kings, was in-
ented for the express purpose, as Lepsius suggests, of making
vith the numbers 3555 and 478 a cyclical combination of
383 years, or three complete Sothis periods.

We shall, however, be able to show the real nature and
alue of the number 350, allotted to these ten Thinite kings,

and that no alteration of the figures of Manetho, as preser
by Eusebius, can be permitted.

23. We see in the Book of Sothis and the Old Chron
a division of the periods of time which they contain am
four or five races.[30] In the first of these documents we h
five: Gods, Demigods, Aerites, Mestraioi, and Egypti
In the Old Chronicle we have four: Gods, Demigods,
traioi, and Egyptians; the Aerites being included in the
division, which is called that of the "Aerite kings of
gods." Lepsius explains the term Aerites as derived f
Aeria, an ancient name for Egypt, which seems very proba
and accords with the other two names of Mestraioi or Mizra
and Egyptians. The Aerites in the Book of Sothis co
between the demigods and the mortal kings, and theref
occupy the position assigned by Manetho to the νέκυες
manes. The original division would seem to have been into

1. Gods.
2. Demigods.
3. Aerites or Manes.
4. Mortals—divided into two sub-classes—
   *a*. Mestraioi.
   *b*. Egyptians.

We must believe that there is some old Egyptian founda
tion for this division, with the nature of which we are n
acquainted, and that the Book of Sothis is not altogether t
work of an impostor and "a very contemptible counterfeit
a later period, compiled for astrological purposes;"[31]
Manetho himself divided the 24,925 years comprised in h
cyclical chronology, in very much the same fashion. H
also makes four classes:—

1. Gods.
2. Demigods.
3. Manes.

[30] See ante, pages 33, 34. [31] Bunsen's Egypt, vol. i. p. 214.

4. Mortals—in three sub-divisions—
   *a.* Other kings.
   *b.* Memphite kings.
   *c.* Thinite kings.

e view necessarily taken by Lepsius as to the ante-rical character of all these classes, prevented his seeing onnection between the five races of the Book of Sothis he four of the Old Chronicle, and those in the epitome anetho, given by Eusebius; but if we compare these documents together, we see that they are framed on mon plan :—

| Manetho rding to Eusebius. | | Book of Sothis. | | Old Chronicle. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Years. | | Years. | | Years. |
| ign of the s . . . | 13,900 | 1. Race of the gods . . . | 12,843 | 1. Kings of the gods and Aerites . . . | 30,000 |
| eign of the migods . | 1,255 | 2. Race of the demigods. . | 1,355 | 2. Demigods . | 3,984 |
| eign of ma- s and demi- ds . . . | 5,813 | 3. Race of the Aerites . . | 161 | 3. (Aerites, have been joined with the gods.) | |
| Iortals— | | 4. Mortals— | | 4. Mortals— | |
| Other kings | 1,817 | *a.* Mestraïoi | 1,219 | *a.* Mestraioi. | 1,084 |
| Memphite kings . . | 1,790 | *b.* Egyptians | 920 | *b.* Egyptians | 875 |
| Thinite kings . . | 350 | | | | |

he framework of the Book of Sothis and of the Old ronicle, is therefore precisely the same as that of Manetho; difference in the figures makes no difference in the form which they are all three cast, which is certainly iden-l, and is undoubtedly a truly ancient Egyptian model. t the mortal kings of the Book of Sothis and the Old ronicle—the Mestraioi and Egyptians—are historical

kings, beginning with Menes, and ending with Amosis, last king of the twenty-sixth dynasty, who was overth by Cambyses the Persian. What, then, are the "k in Manetho who clearly correspond with those of the two documents?

24. Lepsius, as we have seen, deals with them in a summary manner. He rejects the "other kings" altoge as surreptitious; converts the "Memphite kings" into gods, and treats the Thinite kings as ante-historical, duration has been invented to serve a particular pur Bunsen, on the other hand, considers them to be "unques ably 'human kings' or 'princes,' about whose reigns were extant traditions," and arranges them in four se including the demigods and manes, whom he terms sa kings or sacerdotal princes. The "kings" of Man represent, in his opinion—

| | Yea |
|---|---|
| "Other kings," *i. e.* secular princes not otherwise designated . . . . . | 181 |
| "Memphite kings," or kings of the Lower or Northern Empire . . . . . | 179 |
| "Thinite kings," or kings of the Upper or Southern Empire . . . . . | 350 |

Making, together with the 1855 which (after Lepsius) allots to the Sacred kings, or Blessed (the demigods manes of Manetho), a period of 5812 years of the reig "real human kings—not mere provincial princes—be Menes."[32]

As the close of the republican period in Egypt, and election of Bytis, Theban priest of Ammon, and first sac dotal king, took place, according to the same authority in the year B. C. 9085, the period allotted to the "kings" Manetho does not seem exorbitant.

[32] Egypt, vol. iv. pp. 59 and 338. [33] Id. p. 488.

here is, therefore, no kind of agreement in the opinions tained by Bunsen and Lepsius on this subject. Bunsen not believe in the 3555 years of Syncellus, which he es by the aid of the list of Eratosthenes to 3285 years.[34] 350 years of the Thinite kings, therefore, Bunsen does believe to have been invented, as Lepsius has suggested, he purpose of completing the numbers necessary to reach to the commencement of the Sothic cycle of B. C. 4242; e contrary, he considers them to be *historical kings before s.*

There is, however, a third method of explaining the acter of these "kings" of Manetho, which is, to look them as "HISTORICAL KINGS AFTER MENES."

we separate the classes of Manetho's list into two ions—of mortals and immortals, or gods and men—we he following result:—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Reign of the gods . . . . | 13,900 |
| Reign of the demigods . . . | 1,255 |
| Reign of manes and demigods . | 5,813 |
| | 20,968 |

his is not a cyclical number, not containing any complete mber of Sothis periods; but the period it comprises is rely fabulous and mythological, and as the whole number, luding the reigns of the kings, is also un-cyclical, it is bable that the amount of the divine reigns was originally ctly 21,900 years, or fifteen Sothis periods.

The second division is that of the "kings"—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Other kings . . . . | 1817 |
| Thirty Memphite kings . . | 1790 |
| Ten Thinite kings . . . | 350 |
| | 3957 |

[34] Egypt, vol. iii. p. 94.

or 3957 years for the reigns of the kings from Menes t
close of Manetho's history.

Nor is this a cyclical number; it falls short of three S
periods by 423 years, and consequently is longer than
Sothis periods by 1037 years. Now, if this period of
years commenced with a Sothis period, it terminated in
1037th year of the third of such periods, and 423 years be
its completion. Manetho's history must terminate somew
in the course of the Sothis period which commenced
1322, and terminated A. D. 139. This period of 3957
must then, if genuine, have commenced with the third S
period before A. D. 139, that is, the one which comme
B. C. 4242; and

| | Years. | | Years. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| B. C. | 4242 | | 3957 | |
| | 3957 | and | 2920 | = two Sothis perio |
| B. C. | 285 | | 1037 | |

The 1037th year of the Sothis period which had c
menced B. C. 1322, is therefore the year B. C. 284-5, the y
at which the period of 3957 years of Manetho's histor
kings terminated. Now the year B. C. 284 is not the
year of Nectanebo, last king of the thirtieth dynasty, but
is *the first year of the reign of* PTOLEMY PHILADELPH
under whom Manetho lived, and to whom he dedicated
work on Egyptian history.

26. This result has been attained without rejecting, al
ing, or transposing a single figure of the numbers given
Manetho himself; and we have thus recovered one very i
portant and one very interesting fact—the period of ti
assigned by Manetho to his Egyptian history, and the d
at which he completed his work. We may, therefore, as
it to be conclusively established, that Manetho's Egyp
history from Menes to Nectanebo, comprised not 3555,
3901, in round numbers, 3900 years. This is not a So

ber, nor could it be, as Manetho well knew that no ic period could terminate B. C. 340, but it is nevertheless lical number, since it contains exactly 156 Apis cycles, venty-five years each. And this serves to explain the ure of the number of 24,925 years allotted by Manetho he whole of his great period of the reigns of gods, demi-s, and men, which is not a Sothic number, but yet is ical, as it contains exactly 997 Apis cycles—a cycle liarly affected by the priests of Memphis.

. We may now venture to arrange the kings of Manetho's psis of his history in their proper order. As Menes and mmediate successors of the first and second dynasties are sented as Thinites by Manetho, it is clear they should first in order; the Memphites, which form the third, th, sixth, and seventh dynasties, next; and lastly, the er kings," comprising Diospolitans, Saites, Tanites, astites, &c.

*Manetho's Synopsis of his History.*

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Ten Thinite kings . . . | 350 |
| Thirty Memphite kings . . | 1790 |
| Other kings . . . . . | 1817 |
| | 3957 |

ng the period ascribed by Manetho to the duration of yptian history from Menes, B. C. 4242, to the close of his rk in B. C. 285.

This synopsis was undoubtedly followed in the original rk by the names and regnal years of the gods and demi-ls, on some such principle of arrangement as we see in the ok of Sothis, the fragments of the Turin Papyrus, and list of fifteen gods attributed by Syncellus to Manetho.[35] fter the (list of these) gods and demigods," Africanus

[35] Authorities, in Bunsen's Egypt, vol. i. p. 663.

says, "is registered the first dynasty of eight kings, of v
the first was Menes."

But this abstract of Manetho's history does not repr
the whole extent of the Egyptian chronological sy
There is, in fact, a contradiction between the lists which
been represented as compiled from Manetho's historical w
and the abstract of Manetho's work preserved by Euseb
as there is between both and the number of 3555 y
attributed to some historical work by Syncellus.

28. That Manetho's history was originally arranged
cyclical framework was the conclusion come to by B
after a searching criticism of the Manethonian num
This learned critic computed the numbers of the years
the kings of the thirty dynasties of Manetho at 536
exactly three Sothic periods, and 938 years of a four
These 938 years come down to B. C. 339, or the last ye
Nectanebo II. This reckoning, if correct, would, adde
the years to the end of the current Sothic period in A. D.
give 5844 years, or four complete Sothic cyles. The æra
Menes, therefore, according to this computation of the nu
bers of Africanus, was placed by Manetho at the commen
ment of the Sothic cycle of B. C. 5742; according to
abstract of Manetho's history in Eusebius, at the commen
ment of the Sothic cycle of B. C. 4242.

But, as it has been observed, this number 5366 is not
tained without many alterations; which, if not arbitra
derive their probability only from the supposition that
sum is right.[37] No such objection can apply to the numb
given in the extract by Eusebius, which are evidently genui
and which we have taken as we find them, without additi
or alteration.

29. It is clear that the Egyptian priests differed amo
themselves as to which Sothic cycle formed the commen

[36] Manetho und die Hundsternperiode, p. 145, &c.
[37] Kenrick's Ancient Egypt, vol. ii. p. 94.

Egyptian history. The work of Manetho seems to
n compiled from written histories (historical papyri)
in his time, and from lists of kings like the Royal
us. The history, as we see from the extract preserved
sephus, contained a general account of the kings whose
s had been preserved—not divided into dynasties, or
panied by any other chronological notices than the
er of years of their reigns. There is no doubt that he
ded his three books to comprise, each of the two first,
plete Sothic period of 1461 vague years, and the third
to comprise the years of the then current cycle. We
n fact, that the third book commences with the twentieth
sty, in the reign of the first king of which dynasty, the
al rising of Sothis actually occurred for the latitude of
es. The second book commences, not, as might have
expected, with the great historical event of the expul-
of the so-called Hyksos, the rise of the eighteenth
sty, and the commencement of the New Empire, but
the twelfth dynasty, which, therefore, was considered
temporaneous with the commencement of the preceding
hic cycle.

30. We may conclude, therefore, that Manetho's own
es were for—

| | B.C. |
|---|---|
| Commencement of twentieth dynasty. . | 1301 |
| Commencement of twelfth dynasty . . | 2762 |
| Commencement of first dynasty, and æra of Menes . . . . . | 4223 |

, if he took the Lower Egyptian dates for the commence-
nt of the last cycle, twenty years earlier for each period.
Bunsen also ultimately arrived at the conclusion that the
onological arrangement of Manetho was a cyclical one,
ided according to the two Sothic cycles, not mythically,
vever, but strictly chronologically;[38] though, in order to

[38] Egypt, vol. iii. p. 84.

harmonize the admission of a cyclical arrangement
true historical value, he has been obliged to introd
nine centuries of his Hyksos period between the twel
eighteenth dynasties. A history, however, which d
itself by Sothic periods, carries suspicion on the face o
and though Manetho adopted the Sothic cycle of B.C.
for the date of Menes, and comprised his history in
cycles from that date, it is evident that his authoriti
some of them allotted four such cycles to the same his
The list of kings divided into dynasties, comprised in
Sothic cycles, and 980 years of a fourth, was probably
by Manetho in an appendix to his history. His own
which comprised the same period in 3900 years, fou
probably on a criticism which recognised the existen
contemporaneous dynasties, must also have been appende
his history. This chronological list appears to have
known to Eusebius, who has preserved the abstract of i
which reference has been made; and hence, perhaps,
great discrepancy which exists between the numbers of E
bius and those of Africanus.

31. The conclusion to be drawn from all these conside
tions is a very remarkable one; namely, that the list wh
we possess—that revised by Africanus, and which for
many centuries has gone under the name of Manetho—is n
Manetho's own chronological abstract of his historical wor
that it is probably not drawn from that work at all; but i
Greek translation of an Egyptian register, which may ha
been made by Manetho, and included in his work as one
the authorities made use of by him in his compilation, to
chronological computation of which he did not assent, in
much as he himself adopted a different point in time for
commencement of Egyptian history, placing the æra of Me
exactly one Sothic period later than the cycle adopted by
register in question.

32. If there were Egyptian chronicles which placed

the commencement of the Sothic cycle
. 5742, and others which placed it at the
e next Sothic cycle, B. C. 4242, so also there
others which brought down this æra one Sothic
till, or down to the year B. C. 2782. This was
k of the Christian chronologers, because they
mit that Mestraim-Menes could have reigned in
fore the date of the Dispersion, which, according to
oning of Africanus, was B. C. 2724, according to that
sebius, B. C. 2554.[39] The commencement of the Sothic
B. C. 2782 was therefore too early an æra for Menes to
been the work of the Christian chronographers. We
find, moreover, that the Egyptian list of Eratosthenes,
at least one edition of the Old Chronicle, were both
ed to commence at this æra; a computation which appears
older than that of Manetho, and to have been that of
Theban priests themselves, probably as far back as the
eenth century B. C.

. We have still to deal with the number 3555, which
ot have been invented by Syncellus, though it may have
its origin in the numerous computations to which the
bers of the Egyptian history and chronology were sub-
in the three or four first centuries of the Christian æra.
e number of years in which Manetho comprised his
e history from Menes to the first year of Ptolemy
adelphus, B. C. 284, was, as we have seen, 3957 years.
wn to Nectanebo, therefore, or B. C. 340, the years should
3901; and down to the period of the Persian invasion,
C. 525, 3716 years.

Now if we look at the Book of Sothis, we find that the
Third Race of Aerites," who come after the demigods,
d are included in the term "manes, or heroes," that is,

[39] Africanus fixed the year of the world at 5500 B. C. Eusebius
ced it 5200 B. C. Africanus' date for the Dispersion was the year
the world 2776; that of Eusebius, 2646.

mortal but mythic kings, who precede M
have reigned 161 years. If we strike these
Aerites from the 3716 years of Manetho, we
celebrated number 3555 is the result.

It is evident that Syncellus misunderstood
which he found among the chronological materi
he was employed. His reference to the Old Chro
that the time meant to be included in this perio
down only to the epoch of the Persian invasion, th
to which the old Egyptian chronicles in general were b
down.

It may be that some chronologer who has been d
with these numbers, finding that Manetho attributed
years to the period from Menes to the Persian inva
has thought that in this number were included the 161 y
of the Aerites, which the Book of Sothis places in a p
anterior to Menes; he therefore struck them out, in ord
make the period in question reach from Menes to Camb
and then stated that the time included in the Old Chro
that is, from Menes to Cambyses, had been comprised
Manetho in 3555 years.

34. The Old Chronicle in its original state, as we
seen, really comprised this period and no other; but
secondary state, as it came to Syncellus, the four last dyn
of Manetho had been added to it, bringing the period
prised in it down to the death of Nectanebo, B. C.
When, therefore, Syncellus found that the period inclu
in the Old Chronicle was said to have been comprised
Manetho in 3555 years, he understood the statement to app
to the whole thirty dynasties as they then stood in the O
Chronicle, and made his calculation as to the year of t
world in which this period began and ended, accordingly.

It may also be, that this number 3555 had already acquir
a reputation as a genuine Egyptian number, the measure
a period in Egyptian history, which, like many other matte

ted with the same subject, were ascribed to the cele-
Egyptian historian.

number of 3555 years contains two Sothis periods,
ss than three. The time which it comprises ought,
ore, to be reckoned from the beginning of the Sothic
which commenced B. C. 4242.

| | |
|---|---|
| ommencement of Sothic cycle . | B. C. 4242 |
| eriod of 3555 years . . . . | 3555 |
| | 687 |

rings us down to B. C. 687, for the termination of this

, according to Lepsius, the year B. C. 685 is the last
f the reign of Seth or Sethos, the priest of Vulcan,
Sethon by Herodotus, of whom the Egyptian priests
ed so largely to the father of history. Bunsen has
remarked on the fact that the priests brought their
t of Egyptian history down to the reign of Sethos,
of, as it would appear more natural they should
lone, down to Amasis, the last king before the Persian
on.[40]

It certainly formed an epoch of some kind in Egyptian
y, and was a species of chronological fixed point with
Egyptian priests. "Thus much of the account the
tians and the priests related, showing that from the
king (Menes) to this priest of Vulcan (Sethos), who last
ed, were three hundred forty and one generations of
."[41] The expression of Herodotus applied to Sethos,
o last reigned," is remarkable. After Sethos, Herodotus
ribes a break-up of the monarchy—the rule of twelve
s in twelve different parts of Egypt—and incidentally
tions the Ethiopian rule of Sabaco.[42]

unsen, who places the reign of Sethos between the years
773 and 744, explains this circumstance by the suppo-

[40] Egypt, vol. iii. p. 83. [41] Herod. ii. 142. [42] Id. ii. 151.

sition that the year B. C. 775 was one of the great sc
years, in which one of the 500-year divisions of the I
period occurred. The returns of the Phœnix have, ho
been so differently described, and the very existence o
a cycle, as distinguished from the Sothic cycle, is so unc
that it seems preferable to attribute the conduct of the
tian priests to a more natural cause.

36. In fact, it was with Sethos, not with Nectaneb
the old Egyptian empire—the empire of the Pharaol
pired. For the priests of Memphis—the inform
Herodotus—it was the end of the reign of the gods.
Sethos, the priest of Phtha, came the Ethiopians; af
Ethiopians, Psammetichus, the Libyan stranger; an
Psammetichus came the hated Greeks. In the reign of
himself a priest, the jealousies between the priestly
military orders came to a climax, and the repressive p
the royal hierarch resulted in the revolt and secession
military caste.

The revolt of this caste of *soldiers—composed no*
of native Egyptians, but also of Nubians, Libyans
Asiatics, endowed with public lands, and settled in mi
colonies in different parts of Egypt—was the result o
mistaken but patriotic attempt of Sethos to diminish
power of the mercenaries by depriving them of the
which they held as military fiefs. It is probable tha
twelve contemporaneous kings spoken of by Herodot
successors of Sethos, were the commanders of these mil
colonies. The most enterprising and powerful of thes
Psammetichus, a commander of the Libyans, who had
advantage of being allied by marriage with the blood of
old Pharaohs, and the still greater advantage of the assist
of Carian and Ionian mercenaries — ultimately obta
possession of the throne.

That the 3555 years spoken of by Syncellus as the d
tion assigned by some chronicle to Egyptian history, sh

unted from the same point as that at which Manetho ced his history, reach down to the close of the reign of is, if it be only a coincidence, a very remarkable one. *But this is certainly Manetho's own date for this very* For it follows, as a matter of course, that if his date year B. C. 284 is the year of Menes 3957, his date for r B. C. 686-7 is the year of Menes 3555. And the e between the year of the Persian invasion B. C. 525 year B. C. 686-7, is exactly 161 years, the sum d by the Book of Sothis to the dynasty of the It would seem as though, a tradition as to this 3555 being misunderstood, it was thought to apply epoch of the Persian invasion; that some compiler ical schemes of chronology had added on these 161 f the Aerites in order to lengthen out the period re- to make the year B. C. 525 correspond to the 3716th Menes, which was known to be Manetho's date for ent, and that these 161 years had again been struck the computation as above suggested.[43]

vever this may be, it is certain that the number 3555 the number of years reckoned by Manetho for the from Menes to Nectanebo, and that the chronological s which are founded on that assumption must be pro- d to be altogether without foundation.

There remains to be considered the chronological sys- of the author of "Egyptian Chronicles," which takes basis the numbers of the Old Chronicle. The value set this document has fluctuated very considerably at various

[43] Diodorus (i. 26) mentions that, "the Egyptian priests reckon the rom the reign of Helios to the expedition of Alexander into Asia, ut 23,000 years." That is, a period of fourteen complete Sothis , and 2555 years of human history. But this number would bring wn to the year B. C. 228, or more than one hundred years later than nder; it can, therefore, be only approximative. But it shows that were a number of traditions floating about as to the cyclical reckon- f the Egyptian priests, and most of them varying from one another eat, though nominal periods of time.

periods. Syncellus tells us it enjoyed a very high
among the Egyptians, by whom he probably means th
andrians, and it was certainly highly estimated by th
chronographers. Modern Greek scholars, like Le
pronounce it a worthless fabrication, an opinion in
Lepsius and Bunsen fully agree. But whatever
thought of the numbers of the Old Chronicle, the m
which it is cast is undoubtedly Egyptian, and appar
old as the fourteenth century B. C. when these cycli
putations probably commenced.

39. The Christian chronologers who in the first c
of the Christian æra laboured to bring Egyptian t
and history into concord with the Old Testament dat
mitted the great numbers of the Egyptian chronicles t
and various manipulations. They took for the basis o
operations two fundamental principles to which the
lutely and necessarily adhered. First, that Mizraim
of Ham (whom they identified with the Egyptian
was the first mortal who entered Egypt; and secondl
he did not enter that country till after the building
Tower of Babel, and the consequent dispersion of the
over the face of the earth. They were not agreed
themselves as to their date for this event, and conseq
there is an entire want of harmony in their several c
tions. But they were all necessarily agreed in rejectin
preposterous numbers of the Egyptian priests, expresse
various combinations of cycles of 1461 years.

40. The vast periods of time which the Egyptians,
dees, and Phœnicians pretended to include in their ch
logies, were therefore either to be rejected altogeth
fabulous inventions, or to be reduced by some arithme
device to reasonable periods of time, more in accordance
the statements of the Hebrew Scripture. The Chal
Sari, cyclical periods of 3600 years each, were reduce
days, as were also the lesser cycles of 600 and 60 y

The approved method of reducing the Egyptian pe-
as to treat the years reputed solar as lunar years of
days each. In this way Eusebius endeavoured to
the 24,900 years of Manetho to 2206 solar years,
his calculation is incorrect.

he absurdity of attempting the manufacture of Biblical
nisms in this fashion is evident, and has naturally
in destroying all faith in these chronological calcula-
These old compilers were, however, neither forgers
stors, but rather men earnestly in search of what
ned to be truth, who were bent on performing the
le task of forcing the vast and impracticable numbers
gyptian scribes into harmony with their Biblical com-
ns. Hence their dates and numbers, if not altogether
ss, are liable to suspicion, and must always be received
strust. But at least they were working on Egyptian
s with Egyptian materials, and hence there lies at the
all their productions a genuine Egyptian foundation,
from the old Egyptian sources themselves. This is
ly the case with the Old Chronicle especially, and
th the Book of Sothis, though both have been so much
ulated by the Christian and perhaps Jewish chrono-
s that it is difficult to recognise their original character.
very existence of these great periods of time included in
calculations is an argument in favour of their genuine
ptian character, for it is now admitted that the computa-
of Manetho himself were framed upon the cyclical
m of Sothic periods; an element which Bunsen at one
declared to be wholly foreign to the method of the
Manetho, and to have been introduced into the calcula-
by the impostor who was the author of the Book of
s. Lepsius, indeed, thinks it not improbable that Ma-
wrote a special book on the Sothis period, and that the

Egypt, vol. i. p. 213. See an entirely different view in vol. iii. p. 84.

pseudo Manetho, the later falsifier of his book, adop
true title of his work. It is much more probable t
original Book of Sothis in its Egyptian form as a
papyrus, was one of the materials made use of by M
and that the Greek edition preserved by Syncellus is
corrupt and mutilated form of that document.

42. Böckh[45] endeavoured to show that the compile
Old Chronicle had borrowed his numbers for the du
the 16th, 17th, and 19th dynasties from Eusebius.
bability, however, is the other way. Where the nu
Eusebius differ from those of Africanus as they do
dynasties, the Bishop of Cæsarea must have deriv
from some other authority, as it is not to be supposed
invented them; and as we find them existing in t
Chronicle, we must conclude that Eusebius drew up
amongst other sources of information.[46] We shall fi
in respect to the vexed question of the Hyksos period
bius trusted more to the Old Chronicle than to Af
and that in consequence of his having done so he
proached much more closely to the truth than those wh
taken Manetho for their guide.

43. Lepsius, who has investigated the structure of th
Chronicle and the Book of Sothis with his usual care
minuteness, has come to the conclusion, that both these d
ments were composed about the same time, namely, bet
the time of Africanus and that of Eusebius, or about
300, and that the Old Chronicle is somewhat the older o
two. He considers the object of both to have been the s
to connect the Egyptian and Hebrew histories by a f
correspondence of the Egyptian chronology derived
Manetho, with that of the Old Testament. He thus d
guishes the methods employed.

[45] Manetho, p. 55.

[46] See Lepsius, Chronologie, p. 524. Relation of Eusebius to th
Chronicle.

e Old Chronicle," he says, "aimed at no exact corre-
ce with the Hebrew epochs in particular, but took
ptian point of view of reckoning by Sothis cycles,
these cycles in such a manner as to bring their sum
he Mosaic limits. It took for the prehistorical times
gods and demigods a period of twenty-five Sothis
hose commencement, if we substitute years of one
r full years, went back to Adam, and then reached
this period of 1460 full years to the end of Egyptian
story, inasmuch as this began with the 16th dynasty
ho, and ended with Amasis, that is, with the con-
Egypt by Cambyses.

false Sothis,[47] on the contrary, applied the numbers
d to be Mosaic to the Egyptian statements, made use
Manethonian cycles only for the period allotted to the
d brought their commencement, by means of a reduc-
o years of months, by reckoning backwards from the
on to the year of the world, 1058.

the later history, the year of the Dispersion A.M.
s given as the commencement, and here consequently
of the cycle was given up. The Egyptian chronology
enes was shortened by the same means as were used
Old Chronicle, and its termination placed at the same
he Persian conquest. It is evident from these com-
ns that the false Sothis was composed at a later period
the Old Chronicle."[48]

Mr. Kenrick also thinks that the Old Chronicle was
ed to bring the work of the historical Manetho into
mity with the Sothic period, and that the Book of
s is manifestly spurious.[49] It is evident that all these
tes of the nature and antiquity of the Old Chronicle

psius makes use of the terms "false Sothis" and "pseudo Manetho,"
there is only one Book of Sothis and one Manetho known.
hronologie, p. 522.
ncient Egypt under the Pharaohs, vol. ii. p. 95.

and the Book of Sothis, are founded on the notion th
netho's history is the earliest and only authentic hi
Egypt. It is no doubt the oldest Egyptian histo
Greek dress with which we are acquainted, but it i
that there were Egyptian chronicles many centurie
and on one or more of them the Old Chronicle h
founded.

45. The considerations on which the Old Chronicle
pronounced to be a spurious document of a later
relate chiefly to the figures, not to the framework of
ment, for this it has been shown is cast in a true
mould; and it will hardly be contended that the
arrangement of Egyptian history is not older by m
turies than the work of Manetho. It is difficult to
that Christian or Jewish chronologers of the third c
taking Manetho's history which came down to Alexa
their groundwork, should have closed their list of kin
Cambyses the Persian, 205 years earlier. The re
supposition is that they worked upon documents wh
not been brought lower down than B. C. 525, and wh
therefore older than the work of Manetho, which cam
to B. C. 340.

46. The analysis which Lepsius has made of the n
of the Old Chronicle is, like all the researches in the "
nology of the Egyptians," of the most searching and inge
character. If we take the figures as Syncellus has
them for the period down to the end of the twenty-
dynasty, we have—

| | Yea |
|---|---|
| Reigns of the gods and demigods . . . | 34,2 |
| Reigns of the twenty-six dynasties . . | 1,9 |
| | 36,1 |

which is less by 365 years than the sum stated in the
ment itself to have been the original total, 36,525 yea

-five Sothis periods, a number which even without tement might have been assumed to be the necessary the series of Sothis periods. We are perfectly justi- refore in restoring this number 365 to the existing and the only question is, how is this to be done? at portion of the calculation has it been lost, and to it to be restored? Lepsius first assumes that these s belong to the first god Hephaistos, to whom no is assigned in the Chronicle, and restores the num- s:—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| eigns of gods and demi-gods, 34,201 + 365 = . . . . | 34,566 |
| eigns of twenty-six dynasties. . . . . | 1,959 |
| | 36,525 |

specially, thus:—

| ons. | | Years. |
|---|---|---|
| | Hephaistos . . . . . | 365 |
| | Helios . . . . . | 30,000 |
| | Chronos, &c. . . . . | 3,984 |
| | Demigods . . . . . | 217 |
| 15 | The fifteen generations of the Sothic cycle . . . . . | 443 |
| 63 | The reigns of the succeeding eleven dynasties . . . . . | 1516 |
| 100 | Twenty-five Sothis periods = | 36,525 |

These numbers he considers altogether a purely astrological invention, and further re-arranges them as follows:—

"The number 365 assigned to Hephaistos represents the number of days in a year, or taken as years the fourth part of a Sothic cycle.

"The number 30,000 assigned to Helios must be taken

to represent days, and the number 30 refers to the
days of the month. It represents therefore 1000 mo
thirty days each, or $83\frac{1}{3}$ years of 360 days, which
oldest year in use among the Egyptians, before the re
the calendar by the introduction of the five intercala
or epagomenæ. Moreover $83\frac{1}{3}$ years are the twelfth
1000 years.

"The next number is that of the twelve gods, 39
which are only sixteen less than the round numb
If we assume 4000 to be the true number, then e
reigned $333\frac{1}{3}$ years. These must represent years
months each, or a quarter of a year, which Euse
others state to have been employed by the Egypti
that each of the twelve gods reigned exactly as long
preceding one, Helios, or $83\frac{1}{3}$ years. In this case ther
omission of sixteen years.

"In the next number, on the contrary, the years a
to the demigods, 217, are seventeen more than the
number 200, which would give to each of the eight d
a reign of twenty-five years. If we allow to them 25
reckoned as years of four months each, correspondin
well-known Egyptian division of the year into three
then again each demigod will have reigned the same
of years as each of the gods, $83\frac{1}{3}$ years. Allowing 200,
take away seventeen, which is one more than the sixte
to the preceding division.

"The number of the fifteen generations, 443, is 57 less than the round number 500.

"The number of the reigns of the following eleven dynasties, 1516, is fifty-six more than a Sothis period." But Lepsius finds that the duration of these dynasties in Manetho, according to Eusebius, amounts to 1487 years, and by a reasonable correction on comparison with the numbers in Africanus to exactly 1460 years. From these considerations we obtain the following table:—

| | Years. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hephaistos . . | 365 | | | | |
| Helios . . . | 30,000 | | | | |
| Chronos, &c. . | 4,000 | − 16 | = 3,984 | | |
| Demigods . . | 200 | + 16 | = 216 | + 1 | = 217 |
| Fifteen generations | 500 | − 56 | = 444 | − 1 | = 443 |
| Eleven dynasties | 1,460 | + 56 | = 1,516 | | |
| | 36,525 | | | | |

In which there is a re-arrangement only, but no alteration of the existing numbers of the Old Chronicle, the figures subtracted as superfluous from one set of items, being added to make up the supposed deficiency in others.

But Lepsius is not satisfied even with this complex calculation which he ascribes to Panodorus. There is a want of symmetry in it which detracts from its merit, and he therefore seeks another arrangement which must have preceded that first exhibited. With this view he rejects the number 30 allotted to Hephaistos, which would at first sight appear to destroy the cyclical arrangement of twenty-five Sothic periods. But this is not so, as the following table shows:—

| | | Years. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Hephaistos . . . | — | |
| 1 | Helios . . . . | 30,000 | |
| 12 | Chronos, &c. . . | 4,000 | |
| 8 | Demigods . . . | 2,000 | |
| 15 | Generations . . | 500 | |
| 37 | | 36,500 | solar years = 36,525 civil years = 25 Sothis periods or years of the gods. |
| 11 | Dynasties . . . | 1,460 | = one Sothis period. |

These large numbers, however, have been obtained by assigning to the gods and demigods, according to their rank, not true solar years, but years of various lengths, as above explained by Lepsius. How ingeniously the whole of this subtle arrangement has been contrived may be seen by the following table:—

| Dynasties. | | Generations. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [I. | 1. | 1 god (Hephaistos)] | | | | |
| II. | 1. | 1 god Helios . . | $83\frac{1}{3} \times 1 =$ | $83\frac{1}{3}$ | = 30,000 | days, or 1,000 years of one month each |
| III.-XIV. | 12. | 12 gods each . . | $83\frac{1}{3} \times 12 =$ | 1,000 | = 4,000 | 3-month years. |
| XV. | 1. | 8 demigods each . | $83\frac{1}{3} \times 8 =$ | $666\frac{2}{3}$ | = 2,000 | 4-month years. |
| | | | | | 36,000 | |
| XVI. | 1. | 15 generations . . | $83\frac{1}{3} \times 3 =$ | 250 | = 500 | 6-month years. |
| | 15 (16) | 36 (37) | $83\frac{1}{3} \times 24 =$ | 2,000 | = 36,500 | solar years = 36,525 civil years = 25 Sothis periods or divine years. |
| XVII.-XXVII. | 11. | 63 reigns of mortal kings to Amasis, 1461 civil years = 1 Sothis period. | | | | |
| | 26 (27) | 99 (100) | | | | |

47. Lepsius considers this last the original form of the Old Chronicle, but he does not suggest the object with which it could have been constructed. We must recollect that supposing any such composition ever to have existed, its author was merely dealing with a fixed arithmetical number consisting of twenty-five periods of 1461 years each, and therefore capable of division into the various cycles or divisions of time known to the Egyptians. Casting away the last eleven dynasties of kings, these twenty-five Sothis cycles were to be divided among thirty-six gods. The number 36,525 did not admit of complete division by thirty-six, but by changing the number of vague years given into solar years, twenty-five such periods give 36,500 years, a number more easy to deal with by division, but still not divisible by thirty-six without a remainder. But this number is one of the great years of the Egyptians, or 365 times 1000, consisting of 365 days reckoned at 1000 years each. The old Egyptian star-circle,[50] or Zodiac, (if we may use that convenient term for what was not a Zodiac,) was divided into 360 parts, or twelve months of three parts or decades each. This Zodiac took no notice of the five epagomenæ or intercalary days, but was founded on a year of 360 days. Its great revolution consisted of 360,000 years, which formed no complete number of Sothic periods, but was divisible among the thirty-six gods without a remainder. The object of such a scheme as Lepsius has imagined might have been to divide a reformed

[50] The Zodiac, or circle of the sun's path through twelve signs, figured under human or animal forms, was not known to the Egyptians before the time of the Greek Ptolemies, perhaps not earlier than the Christian æra. Neither is star-circle an appropriate term, for the Egyptians, of a time before the influx of Greek ideas, did not arrange their astronomical representations of the fixed star constellations and planets in a circle, but in a straight line. The golden circle of Osymandyas, of 365 cubits, one for each day in the year, with the rising and setting of the fixed stars marked upon it, which according to Diodorus had been carried away by the Persians, is not likely to have had a real existence.

Zodiac of 365 divisions, corresponding to the 365 days of the reformed year, among the thirty-six gods, giving to each an equal space, or, in other words, an equal portion of time or length of reign in the great circle, as newly calculated, of 36,500 years.

But these thirty-six gods were divided into four groups, of one, twelve, eight, and fifteen each, in a descending order of rank, and a relative proportion of time was to be allotted to each group. With the elements of the problem before him, a skilful arithmetician accustomed to such calculations, would produce the required result, without any reference to Egypt or Egyptian mythology.

48. It is certainly not improbable that the invention of such a cyclical arrangement as the above may have been a Greek-Egyptian performance. But this supposed division of time, though admirably contrived as to the 360,000 years of the twenty-one gods, fails in its appropriation of the remaining 500 or 525 years. For in order to attain a symmetrical result, it has been found necessary to reduce the number of the gods from thirty-six to twenty-four by counting the fifteen generations as three gods, for which no good reason can be given. The number thirty-six was the old Egyptian number of the Decans, or divinities of the thirty-six spaces into which the celestial year was divided, and that number ought certainly not to be diminished.

Lepsius, however, in common with most of the continental scholars, looks upon the Old Chronicle as a mere astrological imposture of late date, and therefore would see no force in these objections. Still it is difficult to imagine who could have been the author of a scheme which compresses all Egyptian history into one cycle of 1461 years. If the Old Chronicle ever presented such an appearance as suggested, it must have been, not in its original form, but at a very late period, when all the historical value once attributed to this ancient document had been lost sight of. It is, however, very im-

probable that the Old Chronicle ever presented any such arrangement. In the first place, the document itself professes to comprise all history of gods and men, from Phtha, or Hephaistos the eternal, down to Cambyses, in twenty-five Sothic periods, such being the period of the apocatastasis, or great circle of renovation of all things. But the scheme suggested employs twenty-six Sothic cycles for the same period, or 37,986 years. The number of twenty-five cycles is certainly the genuine one, as it represents the multiplication of *the solar* by the lunar cycle.

49. There is another and still graver objection to the scheme suggested. The number of the thirty-six or twenty-four gods among whom the whole period is distributed, is made up by reckoning the "fifteen generations of the Sothic cycle" among the gods. This could not have been the original form of the Old Chronicle, in the later editions of which they are entitled Mestraioi, or Mizraimite kings. In the Book of Sothis they are called "The Fourth Race of Mizraimites, the nineteenth dynasty of fifteen kings," and their names are given, commencing with "Mestraim, who is Menes, reigned fifty-three years."[51] Any Egyptian scheme which included the whole of Egyptian history in one Sothic period, must have included the kings from Menes to the termination of the history.

50. That the last fifteen dynasties of the Old Chronicle, from the sixteenth to the thirtieth inclusive, were intended

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[51] Dr. Prichard, in his Critical Examination of the Remains of Egyptian Chronology, in 1838, saw that these fifteen generations of the Sothic cycle must correspond to the first fifteen dynasties of Manetho, and instituted a comparison between them. "This comparison shows in the first place that the first fifteen dynasties of Manetho correspond to the fifteen generations of the Cynic Cycle in the Old Chronicle. A more minute examination of Manetho's Chronicle will afford us reason to believe that the collective reigns of these fifteen dynasties ought to be comprised in a period nearly equal to the years of the Cynic Cycle."—*Op. Cit.* p. 38.

to comprise the whole period of Egyptian history from Menes to Nectanebo, is the opinion of the author of the chronological system which we have next to examine.

In the opinion of Lepsius, the Old Chronicle, held in such high repute among the Egyptians, has no historical or chronological value at all, but is a mere arithmetical puzzle, invented by some unknown astrologer, for some astrological purpose which it is difficult to comprehend. The dynasties of the Egyptian kings are thrust out of the way in the form of one Sothic cycle, the main object of the scheme being to exhibit the partition of time among the gods.

51. The conclusion come to by Mr. Palmer as to the nature and construction of the Old Chronicle, is very different from that of Lepsius. According to him, it is indeed an arithmetical puzzle, but it is one which underneath its cyclical form bears a purely historical aspect.

"The ancient Egyptians," he says, "held that the Divine universe of spirit and matter runs a round of developments and transformations, till at length all forms are re-absorbed into the primary element, whether watery or fiery, and the Deity having thus re-entered into himself, after a pause goes forth again into energy, and repeats the same successive developments and transformations as before. The same theogony and formation of plants, animals, and men, the same persons even, and historical events, are to recur. The period assigned to this apocatastasis, or restoration and renewal of all things, was originally and properly a space equal to two Sothic cycles, viz. 2922 vague Egyptian years, this being the duration of the old world, or rather the sum of the lives and reigns of the antediluvian patriarchs, survivors of the Flood, with something still added to cast the whole into the cyclical form which it approached near enough to suggest. The fact that originally the reigns of thirteen gods, answering to the thirteen antediluvian patriarchs, were made to occupy two full Sothic cycles, or 2922 years, suggests the thought that the earliest

of the Egyptian schemes of chronology may have originated at a date not far removed from the epoch of the Sothic cycle in B. C. 1322.

"But besides their expectation of a literal end and reproduction of the universe, the Egyptians had a second and improper form of the same idea; according to which *something like* a recommencement of the world, and a re-appearance of the human gods and demigods in the persons of kings and heroes of like characters and actions, was fancied to take place after periods of time short of 2922 fresh years to be added to the apocatastasis of the old world. Thus at B.C. 1322, when the Sothic cycle may probably have been in use some 480 years, *i. e.* one great season, from about B. C. 1800, or 500 years at most, from B. C. 1820, though the existing world had by no means completed two spaces of 1461 years each, like the two given to the antediluvians, but only one, and not even that without 341 fictitious years to make time begin from a cyclical epoch; still, at the end of a cycle, the first ever really ended, and at the beginning of another, the first ever really begun, Egyptian priests might compliment, and probably did compliment, the reigning Pharaoh, their earthly sun-god and Horus, with the fancy that he was the auspicious beginner of a new line of kings, to be the gods and heroes of a new world. And in later times, the precedent having once been set, even without a conjunction so suitable as that of the renewal of the real cycle, still, if any great occasion prompted the thought, imaginary cycles, or sums of years equal to cycles, could always be multiplied so as to exhibit an imaginary apocatastasis, to be completed in any year selected by the constructor." [52]

52. We might naturally expect to find, if the Egyptian priests were capable of dealing in this manner with their mythological conceptions, that numerous chronological schemes

[52] Egyptian Chronicles, c. 1, p. 1 5.

were in existence, each of which represented the apocatastasis as commencing with the reign of a separate Pharaoh; in fact, there ought to be nearly as many such schemes as there were kings after the commencement of the cycle in B. C. 1322.

But the only scheme of the kind which has come down to us is that of the Old Chronicle, and in this Mr. Palmer thinks the Egyptian priests embodied the conceit that the old world had ended with the last Egyptian dynasty, and that a new world with all its promise was beginning with the kingdom of the Ptolemies, who had introduced a new æra of material prosperity, conforming readily to the national religion, rebuilding and founding temples, confirming the priesthood in their possessions and privileges, and accepting for themselves, in return, the same deification which had been given to the ancient Pharaohs.[53]

"The Old Chronicle, which contains within itself—in its structure, and especially in its date, after a fashion not uncommon in Egyptian ænigmas—both an account of its own origin and a key to its purpose and meaning," was constructed on the following plan.

The number of years allotted to mortal kings, from Nectanebo to Menes, are 1881. From the time to which the history was brought down, viz. B. C. 345, there were still 483 years of the current cycle to run to A. D. 139. Of these 483 years the chronicler placed only 443 above Menes, for a reason afterwards explained.

"Then looking back to the beginning, he found two complete cycles or spaces of 1461 years each, which he gave to Chronos, the first deified ancestor and measurer of human time, and to twelve other gods in thirteen generations, seemingly answering to the thirteen patriarchs of the antediluvians, or of the old world.

"After these 2922 years, came a fraction of 217 before the

[53] Egyptian Chronicles, c. i. p. 7.

foundation of the monarchy by Menes; this he gave to eight demigods, representing, no doubt, the eight generations of post-diluvian patriarchs of the line of Mizraim. The sum of 1881 + 483 + 217 = 2581 is short of two complete cycles by 341 years, which were therefore added on to the 2922 years of the thirteen gods, where they could cause no confusion; whereas, if they had been added to the 217 of the demigods, no one could have any longer distinguished the original fraction, nor so much as guessed what addition or curtailment had been needed in order to make time from the beginning seem to run in the form of Sothic cycles. Having thus obtained four complete cycles of human time, but wanting twenty-one more (to make up the twenty-five cycles or 36,525 years of the apocatastasis), the author prefixed and added twenty-one more whole cycles of time purely fictitious, or, as it might seem, cosmical, not reckoned by men, or by deified ancestors of men; but by the sun-god alone; though, in order to give him the round sum of 30,000 rather than 30,681 years, the fraction 681 was detached and added to the two cycles of the thirteen (human) gods, again without danger of any confusion. So their years were swelled by the double addition both of 681 from above, and of 341 from below, and further by 40 detached from the 483 of the current cycle, so as to amount in all to the sum of (681 + 2922 + 341 + 40 = ) 3984, instead of 2922 years. The purpose of the last-mentioned addition was this: that the interval of forty years between the Persian conquest by Ochus, and the assumption of the crown by Ptolemy Lagi, might be sunk, as it were, and suppressed; and that the latter epoch of the two, viz., B. C. 305, might be marked in the structure of the Chronicle by the specification of '443 years of the Cynic cycle' thrown up; whereas, if the forty between B. C. 345 and 305, equally thrown up, had been included in one and the same sum, the specification of '483 years of the Cynic cycle' would have pointed only to the end of the last

native dynasty, B. C. 345; and the commencement of a new world would have been given to the Persians instead of to those conquerors and successors of the Persians for whom the compliment enigmatically contained in the Chronicle was intended."

53. The scheme of the Old Chronicle, if it were constructed in the manner above suggested, would present something like the following form:—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Hephaistos . . . . . | 30,000 |
| Thirteen generations of gods . . . | 3,984 |
| Eight generations of demigods . . | 217 |
| Fifteen generations of the Sothic cycle inscribed in . . . . . | 443 |
| Dynasties sixteen to thirty . . . | 1,881 |
| From Nectanebo to Ptolemy Lagi . | 40 |
| Or twenty-five Sothic cycles = | 36,525 |

If it could be imagined that this was really the construction of the Old Chronicle, a much simpler mode of accounting for the occurrence of the 443 years placed above the supposed æra of Menes would be, to regard it as the real date of the construction of the scheme, viz., 443 years before the termination of the cycle in A. D. 139, since $139 + 304 = 443$.

54. The Egyptian chronology of the world obtained from the Old Chronicle, treated as above, after rejecting the cyclical and purely fictitious numbers, is—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| "Years of the thirteen Antediluvian Patriarchs | 2,922 |
| Years of the Post-diluvian Patriarchs of the line of Ham and Mizraim . . . . | 217 |
| From Menes to the epoch of the Sothic cycle B. C. 1322 . . . . . | 903 |
| Thence to the last Persian conquest by Ochus B. C. 345 . . . . . | 978 |

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| To the assumption of the crown by Ptolemy Lagi, B. C. 305 . . . . . | 40 |
| To the cyclical epoch, A. D. 139 . . . . | 443 |

Making in all, from Chronos, who should be Adam, to the expiration of the Sothic cycle in A. D. 139, 5493 years; or to our æra, 5364 vague or civil years of 365 days each." [54]

55. This scheme, like that of Lepsius, ignores altogether "the fifteen generations of the Cynic cycle" included in the Old Chronicle. They are supposed to be merely nominal, and must share the nature of the 443 years to which they belong. "It is only to give this space of time thrown up a certain similarity to the rest above and below it, that it is thus distributed into fifteen generations at twenty-nine and a half years each, the generations being, like the years themselves, merely nominal, and at the epoch of the Chronicle, as yet future." [55] But to this we must object, that there is no point more firmly fixed in the artificial systems of Egyptian chronology than the division of the mortal kings from Menes to Nectanebo into thirty, or from Menes to Cambyses into twenty-six dynasties. As the Chronicle commences with the sixteenth of these dynasties, it is clear that the preceding fifteen must be somewhere, and equally clear that they are all included under the one head of "the fifteen generations of the Sothic cycle."

56. We plainly discern from this table that the learned author of "Egyptian Chronicles" has also *his number*, upon which the whole of his chronological system rests, and that number too, like the one adopted by Bunsen and Lepsius, derived from Syncellus, though not the same as that adopted by the Prussian Egyptologers. For the (903 + 978 =) 1881 years from Menes to Nectanebo of this scheme are not obtained by addition of the reigns of the last fifteen dynasties contained in the Old Chronicle, which produce only 1697;

[54] Egyptian Chronicles, c. i. p. 18. [55] Id. c. i. p. 71.

or, if we add the six years of the twenty-eighth dynasty, which the compiler appears to have omitted, 1703 years. It is only by an arbitrary assumption which supplies the numbers wanting to make up the 1881 years, that this sum is obtained. The difference between the sum of the actual figures of the Old Chronicle and the sum announced by Syncellus as the total, is 184 years. It is assumed, therefore, that this number ought to be assigned to the twenty-seventh dynasty, to which none has been given. It has, however, been shown[56] that the real number omitted is that of the twenty-eighth dynasty of Manetho, and amounts to only six years.

57. A chronological system which adopts for its foundation the number of 1881 years from Menes to Nectanebo, on the supposed authority of Syncellus, must necessarily be as unsound as one which adopts the number of 3555 years as the measure of the same period, upon the authority of the same chronographer; unless, indeed, this measure of the period were proved by some independent testimony to be the true measure. If, as has been shown in the case of Manetho, the Egyptian method of chronology was to place the æra of Menes at the commencement of a Sothic cycle, no fixed number of years from Menes can possibly be a true chronological measure for the events of Egyptian history.[57]

[56] Ante, page 37.

[57] Mr. Palmer supposes that there was an earlier scheme, framed by the Egyptian priests at the renewal of the Sothic cycle, B. C. 1322. This scheme also comprised twenty-five complete cycles, twenty-four of which consisted of 35,064 month-years, the remaining cycle of 1460 solar years to B. C. 1322. This is very much the same idea as that developed by Lepsius in his arrangement of the Old Chronicle. But Mr. Palmer goes beyond this, and imagines that the Egyptian priests were acquainted with the true dates of the Creation and the Flood, as obtained by Mr. Palmer from Josephus and the Hebrew Scriptures; and that the epoch of the latter event is marked either directly or indirectly, in all their chronological schemes. This date 2922 for the Flood is the source of all the month-years of the Egyptian calculators, and is marked for the initiated under all the different forms which the cyclical computation assumes.

58. Mr. Palmer has adduced in support of his views, a cyclical computation of the Egyptian priests mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, a writer of the third, or perhaps, a later century of the Christian æra. He says that the Egyptians reckon from Hephaistos the son of Nileus, that is, from the beginning of all things, to the time of Alexander of Macedon, 48,863 years.

"The number 48,863 contains first, for its fictitious parts, thirty times 1461, *i. e.* a full Egyptian month of thirty 'great days,' or cycles. After this month of cosmical cycles, or 43,850 years, the remainder, 5033 years, resolves itself into a simple and honest addition of the periods of true or human time, reckoned by the Egyptians from the beginning of the world to Alexander, without any insertion of fictitious years to make the world seem to have begun at a cyclical epoch; still less with any throwing up of years still future, in order to exhibit a feigned apocatastasis, ending at a point not really the epoch of a Sothic cycle. For 5033 years are equal to those—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Years of the thirteen gods . . . . | 2922 |
| Years of the eight demigods . . . | 217 |
| Fifteen dynasties of mortal kings from Menes to Nectanebo . . . . | 1881 |
| Add thirteen years to Alexander, B.C. 332 | 13 |
| | 5033 |

And 5033 + 30 cycles, or 43,830 = 48,863, the sum total of Diogenes Laertius." And this is, in fact, the same scheme as that extracted from the Old Chronicle.

59. It is difficult at first sight to deny that this must be the true reading of the figures transmitted by Diogenes Laertius, and that the result obtained is a sufficient independent proof of the accuracy of the opinion, that the 1881 years obtained from the Old Chronicle give the real measure

of the historical kings of Egypt, since they come out of two apparently such different totals.

But this number obtained from Diogenes Laertius, appears to be made up of an addition of thirty Sothic cycles prefixed to the entirely Christian or Jewish computation of the year of the world; for 5033 + 332, give 5365 years down to the Christian æra; and if we add the 139 years of the current uncompleted cycle, we obtain 5504 years, or nearly the number adopted by the Alexandrian chronologers for the date of the creation of the world, B. C. 5502. In fact, the numbers of the cycles recorded by Diogenes Laertius, square with Mr. Palmer's numbers only on the assumption that the Egyptian date for the creation is B. C. 5364; a result obtained by making the years of the antediluvian patriarchs amount to exactly two Sothic periods, or 2922 years. The Old Chronicle however, allows, not two cycles, but 3984 years, for the thirteen antediluvian patriarchs, and if its numbers are to be used at all, it would seem that they ought to be accepted as they are given. The computation preserved by Diogenes Laertius does not, therefore, really agree with that of the Old Chronicle, though it appears to do so when the numbers of the latter have been made to represent so nearly the Christian or Jewish date for the creation of the world; both computations having probably been made on the same principle.

60. The Old Chronicle, if, as Syncellus relates, it had an Egyptian origin, must have been framed in accordance with Egyptian ideas; its plan and intention much more simple than those hitherto suggested, and it must also have had an historical purpose.

We have seen from the computation of Manetho preserved by Eusebius, that the commencement of Egyptian history with Menes, was placed at the commencement of a Sothic period, but that the history was carried down to its legitimate closing point, at whatever portion of a Sothic period that

might happen to be. A chronology which allotted 1461, or any multiple of 1461 years to the period from Menes to Cambyses, or to Nectanebo, would bear upon the face of it the stamp of forgery, and would not be a reckoning by Sothis periods, but a mere adaptation of history, contracted or enlarged, so as to be made to fit into a cyclical framework to which some mythic notion was attached. Necessarily, a history which was arbitrarily made to commence with the commencement of an astronomical period, must be to some extent fabulous and unreal; but Egyptian history was at least free at one end of its course.

We may expect, therefore, to find that the Old Chronicle, like the history of Manetho, has taken a commencement for its history coinciding with the commencement of a Sothis period, but has not arbitrarily comprised that history within the limits of any one or more of such periods. This is not at once apparent in the construction of the Old Chronicle, owing to the form which has been given to it in order to represent the great period of the apocatastasis, or twenty-five Sothis cycles.

61. The time allotted by the Old Chronicle for the duration of the eleven last dynasties is 1516 years. Add to these the 443 years of the fifteen generations, and we have 1959 years for the whole period from Cambyses to Menes, reaching to the year B. C. 2484, and the year of the world 3016, according to the computation of Africanus.[58]

If, now, we deal with the numbers of the Old Chronicle precisely as we have done with those of the Synopsis of Manetho, separating the numbers belonging to mythology from those belonging to history, we find—

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[58] Africanus, and after him Syncellus, placed the creation of the world 5500 B. C. Eusebius placed it 5200 B. C. Clemens of Alexandria 5624 B. C.; and Josephus 4698 B. C.

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Reign of the gods . . . . . | 33,984 |
| Reign of the demigods . . . . | 217 |
| | 34,201 |
| Duration of the mortal dynasties . . | 1,959 |
| | 36,160 |

which is 365 less than the great period of twenty-five Sothis cycles, or 36,525 years.

Assuming that this period of 1959 years of mortal kings ought, as in Manetho, to commence with a Sothis period, let us take provisionally, the statement in the Old Chronicle that " fifteen generations were registered down to the 443rd year of a Sothis cycle; that is, as the words indeed imply, that the first of these fifteen generations commenced with the first year of that cycle: we obtain for the commencement of the fifteen generations, the year B. C. 2784, and for the whole period occupied by the mortal dynasties, a period of 2259 years; that is—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Commencement of the Sothis cycle | B. C. 2784 |
| Close of the twenty-sixth dynasty with Cambyses . . . . | B. C. 525 |
| Duration of the mortal dynasties . | 2259 |

The total of the period allotted to these same dynasties in the Old Chronicle is 1959 years, which is less than the time which ought, on the above hypothesis, to have been given to them, by 300 years.

But this number 2259, which we have assumed to be that of the historical period, added to that of the reigns of the gods and demigods—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Reigns of gods and demigods . . . | 34,201 |
| Historical period . . . . . | 2,259 |
| | 36,460 |

which is exactly 65 short of the great astronomical period of 36,525 years, in which the whole history of gods and men was to be included.

We now see where the number 365 has been lost, and to what places it is to be restored.

| | | Years. |
|---|---|---|
| Reign of the gods and demi-gods . . . . . | 34,201 + 65 = | 34,266 |
| Reign of mortal kings from Menes to Cambyses . | 1,959 + 300 = | 2,259 |
| | | 36,525 |

or twenty-five Sothis periods.

62. That this computation is correct, and that it is really that of the Old Chronicle, is capable of demonstration. For the 2259 years thus allotted to the whole period of Egyptian history from Menes to Cambyses, consist of one Sothis period of 1461 years and 798 years of another such period.

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Then from the commencement of the Sothis period . . . . . B. C. | 1322 |
| | 798 |
| | 524 |

brings us to the year B. C. 524-5, the æra of the invasion of Cambyses, and the exact date to which the Old Chronicle brought down its history.

That the number of 2259 years allotted to this period is not the true number is evident from its commencing with a Sothis cycle, but the above computation completely establishes the historical character of the Old Chronicle, and is a second and altogether independent proof that *the Egyptian chronological method was to place Menes and the commencement of Egyptian history at the commencement of a Sothis period.*

It is also a decisive and independent proof of the correctness of the method which we have used in dealing with the numbers of Manetho.

63. It will be observed that in the Old Chronicle, as thus restored, the reigns of the gods and demigods do not make up any multiple of 1461 years, or any series of complete Sothis periods. This is in accordance with what we have seen in the computation of Manetho, in which the same want of cyclical arrangement of the divine dynasties in Sothis periods is observable. In the composition of the document, the numbers have been so arranged that the duration of the divine dynasties shall comprise a certain number of complete cycles, and so many years of a cycle as shall be sufficient, with the years of the current cycle in which the history terminates, to make up the full period of 1461 years. Thus the reign of the gods and demigods in this scheme comprises twenty-three Sothis periods, and 663 years; the reigns of mortal kings comprise one Sothis period, and 798 years, down to the æra of Cambyses, B. C. 524-5; and 798 + 663 make 1461 vague years, or one complete Sothis period. It is evident that this is not an astrological but an historical computation. The cycles of the gods are prefixed in accordance with the ordinary mythic chronology of the Egyptians; the chronology of the mortal kings from Menes commences, like other Egyptian chronicles, with a Sothis period, and in this instance with that which began B. C. 2782.

64. This scheme differs from that of Manetho in this; that whereas the cyclical arrangement of the latter was made to terminate with the real anticipated termination of the current Sothis cycle, to occur in A. D. 139, that of the former completes the sum of its cycles with the year of the termination of the history; and this scheme of the Old Chronicle seems to be the more ancient form, as we may consider that Manetho, living in a learned age, and in the society of Greek philosophers, was desirous of giving an appearance of chronological accuracy to his numbers.

It is also proved by this restoration of the Old Chronicle, that "the fifteen generations of the Sothic cycle" represent

the first fifteen dynasties of Manetho, and never could have been included among the divine dynasties.

65. Hence we may gather the meaning of the obscure phrase of the Old Chronicle, "the fifteen generations of the Sothic cycle." As the compilers of that document counted *one* complete cycle and part of another from Menes down to the æra of the Persian invasion, we may understand the phrase to mean, "the *first* fifteen dynasties of *the* Sothic cycle"—that cycle which had elapsed and been completed in B. C. 1322.

The cause of the compression of these fifteen dynasties into one has probably been this:—The copies of the Old Chronicle which have come down to us, have necessarily been made by Christian writers. The original document no doubt contained a list of these fifteen dynasties, with the years of their duration, in the same way as the following eleven were inserted. The first dynasty which in the present copies is distinctly named is the sixteenth, which was a Shepherd dynasty, as was also the seventeenth.

It was a general opinion among the early Christian writers that Joseph was sold into Egypt in the time of a Shepherd king, and that the Exodus took place under Amosis, first king of the eighteenth dynasty. To the sixteenth and seventeenth dynasties the Old Chronicle assigns respectively 190 and 103 years. Joseph, therefore, was sold into Egypt, according to this view (as they allowed a period of 215 years for the Hebrew settlement in Egypt), in the time of the kings of the sixteenth dynasty of Shepherds, the duration of which it was important to denote in the Chronicle. The portion of Egyptian history anterior to that period was less important, and the fifteen preceding dynasties were massed together in one division.[59] It has been noticed[60] that the

[59] See ante, page 35, the suggestion that this was originally owing to a mistake in the reckoning of the dynasties.

[60] Böckh, Manetho, &c. page 53. Lepsius' Chronologie. Bunsen's Egypt, &c.

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number of years attributed in the Old Chronicle to these fifteen dynasties, 443, is exactly the same as the sum of the reigns of the first fifteen kings of the list of Eratosthenes, and therefore, it is said, the compiler of the Old Chronicle, who had no real object in view, and thrust in any figures he pleased, borrowed them from that list. But it has been shown that these were not the original figures of the Old Chronicle. This document, in its earliest form, is older than Eratosthenes, and the change in the distribution of the 365 years may also have occurred before his time; so that it is as probable that the Greek transcribers of his list have been influenced by the Old Chronicle in making the years of his first fifteen kings amount to 443, as that the compilers of the Old Chronicle borrowed that number from Eratosthenes.

66. The restoration which shows the original number of years given to these fifteen dynasties to have been 743, affords an explanation of the long misunderstood passage of Syncellus, in his Laterculus, or list of kings, which he worked out upon the basis of the Book of Sothis. He says: "In the fifth year of the reign of King Koncharis, during the sixteenth dynasty of the so-called Sothic cycle of Manetho, there are from Mestraim, the first king and settler in Egypt, 700 years complete and twenty-five kings; that is, from the year of the world 2776, the epoch of the Dispersion of the Tribes, in the thirty-fourth year of Arphachsad, the fifth of Thalek."

It is evident from the expression here made use of by Syncellus, "the so-called Sothic cycle of Manetho," that he is referring to that statement of the Old Chronicle[61] which says, "After these, fifteen generations of the Sothic cycle inscribed in 443 years." The number which Syncellus in the passage above-mentioned assigns to this period is 700 years, instead of 443, and twenty-five kings instead of fifteen. But the

[61] Ante, page 36.

number of years assigned to the fifteen generations in that edition of the Old Chronicle which brought the history down to the Persian invasion, was, as we have seen, 743, or only forty-three more than Syncellus here assigns to the same period. The passage also points out what period the editors of the Old Chronicle meant to include in their fifteen generations; which is that which Bunsen has termed the Old Empire, from Menes to the Hyksos invasion, the same period to which the list of Eratosthenes assigns a duration of 1076 years. The year of the world assigned to Mestraim is of course the calculation of Syncellus, and it is probable that he rejected the forty-three years of the Old Chronicle, in order to make the æra of Mestraim synchronize exactly with that of the Dispersion.

67. As the arrangement of the divine dynasties of the Old Chronicle in its present form is not cyclical, it is unnecessary to inquire to what particular section of the gods or demigods the number sixty-five should be assigned; it is sufficient to have shown, that its addition to this period brings about a result which clearly demonstrates the original form of the computation of the Old Chronicle. It also shows that Lepsius' ingenious restoration of this document is wholly imaginary. Nor can we pretend to say to which, or among how many of the dynasties of kings, the number 300 should be distributed; for the commencement of the history with the æra of Menes being here, as in Manetho, arbitrarily fixed at the commencement of a Sothic period, the numbers are more or less unreal. As to the mode in which the loss of the number 365 occurred, we may suggest that the Old Chronicle being, as Syncellus asserts, a document of great reputation, has passed through many hands, and suffered many attempts at modification.

Originally it would appear no number was assigned to Hephaistos, the Vulcan of the Greeks, the perpetual fire, for the reason assigned by Syncellus, that the god Hephaistos shines

by day and by night, or is eternal. Some manipulator of the Chronicle subsequently allotted the number of 365 years to this god. He could not add this number; for the total 36,525 was a fixed mythical astronomical period, which could not be altered. He therefore subtracted this number partly from the divine partly from the mortal reigns, the latter, no doubt, for the purpose of shortening the historical period, and to bring the æra of Menes-Mizraim down below the date of the Dispersion of the Nations, which, according to the chronology of Africanus, occurred in the year of the world, 2776. This number so subtracted he assigned to Hephaistos, the only god to whom no number was given. A later hand, better acquainted with Egyptian ideas, struck out this number, but neglected or probably was unable to restore it, and the Old Chronicle has come down to us with this patent omission from its figures of the number required to make up the given total.

68. Lepsius has remarked that the close of an epoch of Egyptian history with Amasis, last king of the twenty-fifth dynasty, dates from a period anterior to Manetho, for it was to that epoch that the calculations of the Egyptian priests, as reported by Herodotus, were brought down. Diodorus also speaks of the Egyptian kings from the earliest times down to Amasis. In the time of Herodotus this was the natural close of Egyptian history, and Diodorus, who appears not to have known the work of Manetho, probably followed the indication of Herodotus. Lepsius suggests that the author of the Old Chronicle and the framer of the Book of Sothis, may have been influenced by a knowledge of the statements contained in the history of Herodotus.

69. This original termination of the Old Chronicle with the commencement of the Persian dominion, may perhaps have some connection with the remark on the god Hephaistos given as the reason for not assigning any number of years to his reign, "that he shines both by day and by night." The

Book of Sothis assigns 9000 years to Hephaistos, and no doubt other Egyptian registers did the same. Hephaistos is the Greek name for Phtha, the great god of Memphis, the creator or Demiurgos, of whom Eusebius says, "The chief god of the Egyptians was Vulcan, who is also reputed by them to have been the discoverer of fire," but we have no indication of anything like fire-worship among the ancient Egyptians.[62] If the Old Chronicle, which closes its history with the dynasty overthrown by the Persians, was originally compiled at the close of the Persian dominion of 124 years, or more than four generations, the representation of Phtha as the eternal sacred fire may be derived from the influence of a dominant race of fire-worshippers. It does not seem to be an old Egyptian idea, and certainly is not likely to have emanated from a Christian commentator.

70. The most important result of this examination of the Egyptian chronological documents, is the fact which has been demonstrated, that the Egyptian method of chronology was to place the æra of Menes at the commencement of a Sothic cycle. It was in this artificial manner that they obtained their fixed point of time, their year of Menes or æra from which they counted, in the manner which Herodotus has related.

It is evident that a chronology which dates the first year of the first king of its history proleptically from an astronomical epoch, is no chronology at all in the proper meaning of

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[62] Dr. Brugsch has published an inscription from a tomb at Stable-Antar, near the modern town of Siout, the ancient Lycopolis, belonging to a certain Hepou-tefa, son of the lady Ajou, who had been Governor of the Lycopolite nome. The inscription speaks of the manifestation to the deceased of the "lighted fire," *feu allumé*, in the temple of the god Anubis, on the fifth day of the epagomenæ, the night of the new year; and a second manifestation on the 16th day of Thoth, the night of the feast of Waga. This tomb is referred by Dr. Brugsch to the epoch of the twelfth dynasty, but whether the inscription indicates anything like fire-worship, is unknown. See *Recueil des Monuments Egyptiens*, part i. p. 21, plate xi.

the term, and that the figures of Manetho for the duration of the reigns of the earlier dynasties, which must have been arbitrarily lengthened to reach back to the required point of time, cannot be relied on.

The list of Manetho is an invaluable and indispensable aid to the study of the Egyptian monuments; but all the systems of Egyptian chronology which are founded on the mistaken notion that a real historical æra for the commencement of Egyptian history was known to Manetho, or to the Egyptian priesthood in general, must be altogether abandoned.

## CHAPTER III.

*Historical and Astronomical Synchronisms.*

1.

ALL the systems of Egyptian chronology hitherto examined have rested more or less on some historical basis. To Lepsius the passage cited from Syncellus, to Bunsen the same passage and the list of Eratosthenes, and to Lesueur and Palmer the Old Chronicle, have furnished the standard by which to measure the chronology of Manetho. The chief source of error, however, lying deep in the list of Manetho itself, all effort to accommodate this latter to any standard whatever has hitherto failed. Even if Manetho himself possessed access to any list of kings of Egypt, arranged upon any true chronological system, his compilers have certainly not transmitted to us any such means of correction.

2. The history of Egypt, like that of other ancient nations, has an unknown beginning and a known ending, and the only method which affords a reasonable hope of ascertaining the chronological order of the events in that history, is by proceeding backwards from the known to the unknown as far as we find any reliable guide to our path.

3. The historical synchronisms which connect the history of Egypt with that of the Hebrew monarchy, are valuable as far as they extend, but do not carry us farther than the close of the tenth century before the Christian æra.

Starting with the known æra of the last of the Pharaohs, Nectanebo II, we place the last king of the thirtieth dynasty of Manetho . . . . . B. C. 340.

The first king of the twenty-seventh dynasty is Cambyses, the Persian who conquered Egypt . . . B. C. 525.

The fifth king of the twenty-sixth dynasty is Nechao, who in the sixth year of his reign defeated Josiah B.C. 607.

The third king of the twenty-fifth dynasty is Tearcos, the Tirhaka of Scripture, who marched to give battle to Senacherib, King of Assyria, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah . . . . . B.C. 691.

The first king of the twenty-second dynasty is Sheshonk, the Shishak of Scripture, who took Jerusalem in the twelfth year of his reign, and the fifth year of the reign of Reboboam[1] . . . . . B. C. 949.

Here the strictly historical synchronisms terminate. They have not brought us up to the most flourishing epoch of the Hebrew monarchy under Solomon and David, or to that of the Tyrian kingdom of Hiram, or to the supposed epoch of the taking of Troy. The next point at which the Hebrew and Egyptian histories touch, is that of the Exodus of the Israelites, but until this is satisfactorily settled we must depend for our chronology on the doubtful figures of Manetho, corrected as far as may be possible by the evidence of the monuments, and especially by the aid of those notices of astronomical phænomena which it is admitted are capable of furnishing fixed chronological dates.

4. The only fixed dates founded on notices by the ancient Egyptians of astronomical phenomena, on which reliance can be placed, are those connected with the heliacal risings of the star Sothis, or the Dog-star. The commencement of a Sothis period marked by this heliacal rising on the twelfth day of Thoth, was referred by the Alexandrian writers to the year B. C. 1322. The Egyptian monuments present several notices

[1] These dates are taken from Lepsius' Synoptische Tafeln in the Königsbuch.

of the rising of this star on other days of the vague years, which afford a ready means of ascertaining the date of the inscriptions in which they are contained.

5. We will take the inscriptions which record these heliacal risings of Sirius in the order in which they occur.

i. On the ceiling of the tomb of Rameses VI, fourth king of the twentieth dynasty, at Biban el-Moulook, near Thebes, is a representation of a series of personages employed in making observations of the rising of certain constellations through the twelve hours of the night. The observations begin with the commencement of the night, and continue through the following twelve hours. There are therefore thirteen observations of thirteen constellations, the names of which have been read as follows: [2]

1. Necht . . . The Conqueror.
2. Apt . . . . The Goose.
3. Chou . . . . The Thousand Stars.
4. Ari . . . .
5. Sahou . . . Orion.
6. Sothis . . . The Dogstar.
7. Sioui . . . . The Two Stars.
8. Siou-en-Mou . The Stars of the Waters.
9. Maaou . . . The Lion.
10. Siou-Schou . . The Numerous Stars.
11. Fi-Nofre . . . The Bringer of Good.
12. Mena-t . . . (A Quadruped.)[3]
13. Rer-t . . . . The Hippopotamus.

Of these only two can be recognized with certainty, Sirius and Orion, and perhaps the Pleiades.

[2] Lepsius, Chronologie, and De Rougé, in *Revue Archæologique*, vol. vi. p. 660.

[3] M. Lepsius has pointed out that the stars constituting what is called "the thigh of Mena-t" correspond to the "Great Bear." This asterism "the thigh," is constantly represented on the monuments with the head or fore part of a bull. There may therefore be some connection between this constellation and the sacred bull of Heliopolis, Mena.

This list of observations is repeated for every fifteen days throughout the year, commencing with the first day of the first month Thoth; and the first manifestation or heliacal rising of Sothis, is recorded as taking place on the fifteenth day of Thoth. The heliacal rising of this star had therefore receded fifteen days from the commencement of the Sothic cycle, and this amount, equal to sixty years, if deducted from the year B. C. 1322 would make the date of the observation fall in the year B. C. 1262. As, however, the place of the monument on which the observation is recorded, is Thebes in Upper Egypt, it seems reasonable to take the latitude of Thebes for the basis of the calculation, and M. Biot, the astronomer, upon this basis has fixed the date of the observation at B. C. 1241, which year consequently falls in the reign of Rameses VI, of the twentieth dynasty of Manetho.[4] According to the chronology of Lepsius, Rameses III. came to the throne in B. C. 1269, and reigned more than twenty-five years; and was succeeded by Rameses IV, who reigned more than four years; the year B. C. 1241 could not therefore have fallen in the reign of Rameses VI. Lepsius points out that a precisely similar list of observations in which the most important points, the risings of Sothis, are identical with those above mentioned, are also found in the tomb of Rameses IX. of the same dynasty; and observes that these astronomical representations on the ceilings of the tombs were very much of a decorative character, and are frequently full of great blunders, the risings of the stars for whole months being left out for want of space, what Champollion called the "besoin calligraphique" being of the first importance. Calculating upon data different to those employed by M. Biot, he has endeavoured to show that the date of this representation should be fixed at B. C. 1194.[5]

[4] M. de Rougé, Mémoire sur quelques Phénomènes Célestes. *Revue Archæologique*, vol. ix. p. 671.

[5] Königsbuch, p. 161.

6. The next date obtained from astronomical calculations is that of the reign of Rameses III, first king of the twenty-sixth dynasty.

On the southern wall of the Temple of Ammon at Thebes, was engraven a list of festivals ordained by Rameses III. on his return from a successful expedition into Asia, which was no doubt intended to be a perpetual record of the endowments created by the king in favour of the priests, who were to perform the necessary services at these festivals. It commences:[6] "Month of Pachons, the twenty-sixth day, the day of the festival of the enthronement of the king. Service to be performed to the god Ammon, to the image of the king Rameses III, and to the gods of the temple, &c."

Then comes the statement from which the date of the inscription is obtained.

"Month of Thoth, the first day, feast of the manifestation (that is, the heliacal rising) of Sothis. Day of performing service to Ammon Ra, king of the gods, and to the image of the king Rameses III. and also to his gods."

7. Here then, if anywhere, we ought to find exactly what is required, the announcement of the fact that Sothis rose heliacally on the first of Thoth, in the reign of Rameses III, and therefore the commencement of the Sothis period and the year B. C. 1322 in the reign of that king.

Unfortunately there are circumstances that affect the certainty of the calculation.

The scribe employed to register the list of festivals on the wall of the temple at Medinet Habou, has not expressly stated in figures that he meant to write the *first day* of the *first month*, but has left it open to dispute whether he meant the first day of the month, or the first fifteen days of the month, or the whole of the month of Thoth; a range which affects the calculation of the date by from 60 to 120 years.

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[6] Brugsch, Histoire d'Egypte, p. 193.

The star Sothis continued to be visible in Egypt in the eastern horizon before sunrise during the whole of the month of Thoth, after its true manifestation or heliacal rising on the first day of that month which marked the commencement of the cycle, that is, during a period of 120 years. If the inscription in the festival calendar of Rameses III. at Thebes records the heliacal rising of Sothis on the first day of Thoth, then the inscription records the commencement of the Sothic cycle B. C. 1322 in the reign of Rameses III. or if calculated for the latitude of Thebes, B. C. 1301. But here again the chronology of Lepsius is at variance with either date, since he places the accession of Rameses III. in the year B. C. 1269.

The next festival mentioned in the Calendar after that of the manifestation of Sothis, is the "Festival of Waga," which is appointed to be held on the 16th day of the month of Thoth; Lepsius therefore proposes as the true reading of the calendar, that the festival of the manifestation of Sothis was to extend over the first fifteen days of the month Thoth, and then to be succeeded by the festival next mentioned, that of Waga, on the 16th of the same month.[7] The effect of this mode of reading the inscription would be, to give the date of the calendar a range of sixty years from and after the year B. C. 1322, or if the rising of Sothis is calculated for the latitude of Thebes, from and after the year B. C. 1301, which would allow the date of the calendar to fall in the reign of Rameses III, according to the chronological scale of the Prussian Egyptologer.

It would seem, however, that the reading of the symbols in question must be held to mean "the first day of the first month," that is the first of Thoth, not only because this reading is justified by the reading of other inscriptions in which this particular hieroglyphical expression occurs; but

[7] Königsbuch, p. 154.

also, because the calendar affords evidence that each festival was appointed to be held on a particular day, unless otherwise expressed. In this particular instance the festival "of the manifestation of Sothis" is described as "*the day*," in the singular, of performing certain religious ceremonies before the image of the god Amun and the image of King Rameses, and can therefore hardly be understood as speaking of a festival intended to extend over fifteen days. When the festival was intended to occupy more than one day it is so stated. Thus, the entry in the calendar, of the festival to be held in the month of Paophi states:

"Month of Paophi, 19th day; first day of the Panegyry of Amen-en-habu-f-nefer, of Thebes. Service to be performed, &c."

"Month of Paophi, the 20th day—second day
Month of Paophi, the 21st day—third day
Month of Paophi, the 22nd day—fourth day
Month of Paophi, the 23rd day—fifth day
} of the same festival."

The particular notice of each of the five successive days on which this last festival was to be held, leads us to infer that if it had been intended that the festival of the manifestation of Sothis was to extend over more than one day, instructions to that effect would have been given in the calendar, as they have been given in the case of the festival of the month of Paophi.

On the whole, it would seem that there can be no reasonable doubt that this inscription records the heliacal rising of Sothis on the first day of the first month of the vague year, the first of Thoth, and consequently *the commencement of the Sothis cycle*, celebrated at Thebes in the reign of Rameses III, first king of the twentieth dynasty.

8. Supposing it to be admitted, as it must be eventually, that the renewal of a Sothis cycle occurred in the reign of

Rameses III,[8] it does not thence necessarily follow that the year B.C. 1322, the generally accepted commencement of the Sothis cycle, fell in the reign of that monarch.

This leads us to the consideration of a difficult and disputed question as to this fixed point in Egyptian chronology.

9. The Sothis period of 1461 vague years, the commencement of which had been fixed by the Egyptian priests at 546 years before the first Olympiad, must have been perfectly well known to the Alexandrian Greeks in the later periods of Egyptian history. Ptolemy the astronomer was in Alexandria A.D. 139, the year in which this cycle terminated, in the second year of the reign of Antoninus Pius. No notice has been taken of it by Ptolemy, but Clemens of Alexandria, in the second century, reckons from its commencement to the date of the Exodus. There could, therefore, have been no dispute as to its termination in A.D. 139, and, consequently, it must have commenced B.C. 1322. The question to be determined in relation to Egyptian history is, in whose reign did this year, B.C. 1322, fall. This question has been answered by Bunsen and Lepsius in the following manner:—

THEON the mathematician of Alexandria in the fourth century, in giving a rule for finding the day of the heliacal rising of Sirius in a given year of the Diocletian æra, says: "As an example, let us take the years from MENOPHRES to the end of Augustus, altogether 1605 years." That is, from B.C. 1322, the year of the commencement of the post-Sothic cycle, to A.D. 284, the commencement of the Diocletian æra. It is said that these words, "from Menophres," are to be taken in the same sense as the words "to the end of Augustus," and "from the beginning of Diocletian," and that, consequently, Menophres must be the name of the king in whose

[8] Dr. Brugsch and M. de Rougé both maintain that the day mentioned in the festival-calendar is the first Thoth. Histoire d'Egypte, p. 195. *Revue Archæolog.* vol. ix. p. 618.

reign the Sothis period of B.C. 1322 commenced. Unfortunately the lists of Manetho do not contain any such name. "It is easy to see," says M. Bunsen,[9] "that this is an æra, but where is the king Menophres to be found? Nowhere. There never was, at any time, a king named Menophres." There is, however, a king called by Josephus Amenōphis, by Africanus Amenophath, and Amenephthes, whose monumental name is read by Bunsen Meri-en-phtah, by Lepsius Mie-en-phtah. Bunsen therefore suggested, and the suggestion was fully adopted by Lepsius, that the words in Theon, "ἀπὸ ΜΕΝΟΦΡΕΩΣ," should be read "ἀπὸ ΜΕΝΟΦΘΕΩΣ," the Greek P having by mistake been substituted for a Θ. The king in question, therefore, was Menophtha, the sixth king of the nineteenth dynasty, and son of Rameses the Great.

10. Menophres is, however, as genuine an Egyptian name as Menophthes, the one meaning "beloved of the Sun," the other "beloved of Phtha;" the alteration of the Greek text is therefore not absolutely necessary, since it is not corrupt on the face of it.

The only person known to have mentioned the "æra of Menophres" is Theon of Alexandria, a Greek of the fourth century. That it had been so called before Theon's time is evident, and that he thought Menophres was the name of a man may be admitted. But it is also clear that the idea of a chronological epoch named after a man is a Greek, and not an Egyptian idea. Neither of the chronographers who have dealt with the work of Manetho have ever hinted at such a chronological æra, and the evidence to the statement that the Egyptian astronomers employed an æra called by them the "æra of Menophres" amounts to this, that an Alexandrian Greek of the fourth century called it so; the evidence which connects this Menophres with king Menephtha, rests

[9] Egypt, &c. vol. iii. p. 74.

on an ingenious but arbitrary correction of the Greek text, and a computation of the years to be allotted to the several kings who reigned between Sheshonk of the twenty-second dynasty and this Menephtha.

11. Now, when we find that for the very commencement of this back-reckoning, as to the first year of Sheshonk, Bunsen and Lepsius differ as much as twenty-one years; that the period occupied by the twenty-first and twenty-second dynasties is one of great obscurity and confusion, in which the throne of Egypt was usurped at intervals by the heads of the Theban hierarchy; that this period closes with the rise of a dynasty called Bubastite, but who appear to have been of Assyrian or Chaldæan origin (Sheshonk and his successors); that Africanus has not preserved the name or regnal years of one of the kings of the twentieth dynasty, and that the length of no one single reign of that dynasty, supposed to have consisted of twelve Ramesside kings, has yet been ascertained,[10] while the number of years assigned to the dynasty is, by—

| | |
|---|---|
| Africanus . . . . . | 135 |
| Eusebius . . . . . | 178 |
| Eusebius (Armenian version) . . | 172 |
| Lepsius . . . . . | 178 + $x$ |
| Bunsen . . . . . | 185 |

we see at once that no kind of reliance can be placed on the computation which makes the year B.C. 1322 fall in the reign of Menephthah. And yet, out of all this maze of doubt and confusion, M. Bunsen has managed to allot to the twenty-second and twenty-first dynasties exactly the number of years required to bring the year B.C. 1322 to correspond with the first year of the reign of Menephthah, a process

[10] See Lepsius' Synoptic Table, where the reigns of these kings are given 25 + $x$, 4 + $x$, 15 + $x$, &c.

which he pleasantly terms the restoration of the chronology of the period.

12. This view of the æra of Menophres has not been by any means universally accepted. "MM. Bunsen and Lepsius have endeavoured," says M. de Rougé, "to find the criterion necessary for fixing the age of the monuments in placing the æra of Menophres under the king Menephtha, which is the name given by these two savans to the first year of the Sothic cycle, in accordance with the precise indications furnished by the celebrated passage of the astronomer Theon. This conjecture is not new; immediately upon the first historical results obtained by Champollion at the Museum of Turin, M. Champollion Figrae proposed to identify Menophres with the king Amenephthes of Africanus, who corresponds to the king Menephtha, son of Rameses II. of the nineteenth dynasty.

"I do not find that the two learned Prussians rely on any new fact, or on any monumental evidence, in support of this identification. The comparison of the name Amenephthes or Menephtha, with that of Menephres, does not appear sufficient, especially when the object is to found upon it, in the absence of all other testimony, a chronological system; and I must avow that all the efforts directed to this object have, to my great regret, failed to convince me that the æra of Menophres can be with certainty assigned to the reign of Menephtha, so as to give a fixed point of departure for the chronology of this epoch."[11]

13. It is a matter still open to doubt whether the name Menophres applied by Theon to this æra is the name of any Egyptian sovereign. Biot has suggested that the æra was really called the æra of Memphis, the name of that city

[11] Mémoire sur quelques Phénomènes Célestes. *Revue Archæolog.* vol. ix. p. 663. Mr. Palmer also rejects the notion that Menephtha I. of the nineteenth dynasty is the Menophres of the cycle, since he places his reign between B.C. 1419 and 1400. *Egyptian Chronicles*, p. 221.

being written in the hieroglyphics, *Men-nofre.*[12] To this it has been objected that the Greek Theon would have made use of the Greek name of the city, *Memphis.* Theon, however, must have obtained this name from some earlier source, and gave it as he found it, without any question as to its etymology.

14. In fact, however, the heliacal rising of Sirius on the first Thoth did not occur at Memphis in the year B. C. 1322. It has been ascertained, from calculations made at the Royal Observatory,[13] that Sirius rose about one hour before sunrise at Memphis on the 20th July B. C. 1322, corresponding to the first day of the Egyptian month Thoth. It is true that as the Egyptian observations were made with the naked eye, unassisted by instruments, and as the power of continuing to distinguish the stars in the first ray of the morning light must have varied to some extent with the visual powers of the observer, the observations of the Egyptian astronomers must have been more or less imperfect. It seems to be admitted that for a star of so great brilliancy as Sirius, the observation of its rising might have been continued to within a shorter time than one hour before sunrise;[14] and we may, therefore, conclude that the observation at Memphis took place some four or five years later than B. C. 1322.

15. It has been already mentioned that in calculating the date of the observations of the fixed-star risings recorded in

[12] Plutarch translates the name "the harbour or resort of the good," which is no doubt correct, if the "lute symbol" is to be taken ideographically. But the name of the city is always written with a figure of a pyramid suffixed. It is, therefore, probable that the "lute symbol" was read phonetically, and that the "pyramid" is determinative of the meaning. The Hebrew writers appear to have called Memphis Moph or Noph. The Hebrew root *noph*, Arabic *nāf*, means "high, lofty, to be elevated or conspicuous," which would give the meaning of the word Men-noph, in Greek Men(o)phis, the place of the Pyramids.

[13] Mr. Poole's Horæ Egyptiacæ, Appendix, Letter from Professor Airy.

[14] Dr. Hincks on the Cycles used by the ancient Egyptians. Tr. R. I. A., p. 169.

the horary tables of the tomb of Rameses VI, M. Biot has taken as the basis of his calculations the latitude of the place where they are found, and where, undoubtedly, they must have been made, viz. Thebes, in latitude 25° 44′ north. On the same basis he has calculated the date of the heliacal rising of Sirius, recorded in the festival-calendar of Rameses III, which he places at B.C. 1301. But if this was the date of the commencement of the Sothic cycle, it could not be the same as that mentioned by Theon, which certainly commenced B.C. 1322. This brings us to the question whether there was not more than one commencement of a Sothic period recognised by the Egyptian priesthood in various parts of Egypt.

16. The southern boundary of Egypt proper was the fortress of Syene, its northern the Mediterranean. Egypt, therefore, extends over rather more than seven degrees of latitude. The latitudes of the principal centres of regal and hierarchical power are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Elephantine (south of Syene) . . . . | 24° 5′ |
| Thebes . . . . . | 25° 44′ |
| Memphis (including Heliopolis) . . . | 30° 6′ |
| Sais and Tanis . . . . . | 31° 0′ |

17. Now it is ascertained that the difference in locality of one degree of latitude, is very nearly equal to a difference of one day in the observation of the heliacal rising of Sirius; and a difference of one day is equal to a difference of four years, inasmuch as the vague year of 365 days being about one-fourth of a day less than the true solar year, the vague year retrograded at the rate of one day every four years. Then the difference in latitude between Thebes and Memphis being about four and a half degrees, the difference between the times of the observation of the heliacal rising of Sothis at each of these places would amount to about sixteen years.

If then, according to Biot's calculation, this event was observed at Thebes in the year B. C. 1301, it would have been observed at Memphis in B. C. 1317.[15] But Sais, where was situated the great temple of Isis-Neith, held by a race of Egyptians who appear always to have been politically alienated from the Egyptians of the south, and even from those of Memphis and Heliopolis,[16] was still at least one degree farther north than Memphis; and at that city, therefore, the phenomenon would have been observed still four years earlier than at Memphis, or B. C. 1321-2. It appears, then, to be quite certain that the commencement of the Sothis period which was celebrated at Alexandria, A. D. 139, had been calculated from observations made in Lower Egypt, and at the very northern extremity of Lower Egypt, supposing the calculation based on the notice of the heliacal rising of Sirius in the calendar of Medinet-Habou, to be well-founded.

It would follow that the commencement of the Sothic cycle had no fixed date for all Egypt, but varied at Thebes, Memphis, and Alexandria; and that the cycle calculated from an observation in Lower Egypt, is the one mentioned by the Greek mathematician.

18. It is, however, argued that "the date of B. C. 1322 for the commencement of the Sothic period is an average one, a middle term, calculated for astronomical purposes. It is found to correspond exactly with the horizon of Central Egypt, immediately at the line of junction of the Upper and Lower Egypts of the ancients. In that quarter—latitude

[15] Mr. Poole has pointed out (Horæ Egyptiacæ, p. 29) that Sirius did not rise heliacally at Memphis, on the 20th July (1st Thoth,) B. C. 1322, but a little more than one hour before sunrise.

[16] Witness the example of Bocchoris, the Saite, who, when he rose to power, caused a wild bull to fight with the sacred Mena, the bull-god of Heliopolis. The Saites venerated the sheep, and had no respect for the Memphite and Heliopolite bulls. Probably the worshippers of these held in low esteem the ram, representative of Ammon at Thebes.

28° 11′—the heliacal rising of Sirius took place on the 18th July of the Julian year. There must have existed in addition to their astronomical determination, calculations for the rising of Sirius, based on various local observations, for the practical use of the celebration of the festivals in a given place. Indeed, as Lepsius remarks, the existence of an average or middle epoch, implies the existence of different local observations from Syene to Heliopolis; which would afford a basis for that calculation, and serve as a confirmation and check upon each other. There is, in fact, positive proof that such was the case. Ptolemy, in his astronomical work, gives the rising of Sirius on different days of the calendar." [17] It is difficult to see how these notices of Ptolemy prove that these supposed local observations of the Egyptian priests were directed to a common object. There is an absolute want of evidence of any such unity of purpose, and the religious uniformity supposed to have prevailed throughout Egypt is equally unsupported by evidence. On the contrary, the Egyptian idea of worship was preeminently local, and the feeling between the priesthoods of the different services, appears to have been rather one of rivalry than of fraternity. As between Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt, between Thebes and Memphis, the old animosity of race must certainly have reached the priesthood.

19. But no one appears to have remarked the curious fact, that the return of the Phœnix appears on the coins of the *second and sixth* years of the emperor Antoninus Pius.[18] The first, that is, the coin of the *second* year, we know to allude to the close of the Sothis period in A. D. 139, which

[17] Egypt, vol. iii. p. xiii.

[18] Sharpe, History of Egypt, p. 418. There is no coin in the British Museum of the *second* year of Antoninus bearing the symbol of the Phœnix and the legend Αἰὼν, but there is one in that collection of the SIXTH year, with that symbol and legend. Zoega, Nummi Egypt. says expressly that he had seen one of the *second* year in a collection which he calls Museum Enerii.

had commenced B. C. 1322. The coin of the *sixth* year bearing precisely the same symbol as that of the second year, must also allude to a similar event, or the renewal of a Sothis period in the year A. D. 145. But this year is precisely that on which the renewal of the Sothis period would fall, calculated from the observation made at Memphis in latitude 30° 6′ in the year B. C. 1316. We have here, then, a positive proof that the heliacal rising of Sothis on the first Thoth was observed, and the commencement of the Sothis period fixed, at Memphis, on a different day from that on which it was observed in the more northern cities of the Delta. And if this was the case for Memphis, it must have been so for Thebes also; probably for every temple establishment sufficiently wealthy and important to maintain a college of priests.

20. There is a very probable reason why, if the astronomical observations were local, and the year of the commencement of the cycle varied with the localities of observation, the date of B. C. 1322 should have been the better known to the Alexandrian astronomers. Not only was it calculated from an observation taken in Lower Egypt, but it had the priority by several years of any other observation. Its celebration and registration in the temples of Neith at Sais, of Pasht at Bubastis, and the other temples of the Delta, would give it a hold upon the memory of the people of that portion of Egypt which the subsequent celebrations of the same event at Memphis would not efface. We have seen, in the course of this investigation, that Manetho's history was carried up to the commencement of a Sothic cycle, one of a series which terminated, as to one such period, in B. C. 1322, and Manetho belonged to Lower Egypt, by birth a Sebennyte, and his literary connexions, and probably his life, belonged to Alexandria.

21. Taking the inscription of the calendar of Rameses III. to mean, that the festival of the commencement of the Sothic

cycle was celebrated in the reign of that monarch, one of two conclusions must be admitted. If there was but one celebration of the renewal of the Sothic cycle throughout Egypt, and that festival was held in the year B. C. 1322, as the year fixed by the mean of observations of the heliacal rising of the star at different geographical points, then the year B. C. 1322 falls not in the reign of Menephtha, but of Rameses III. If, on the other hand, it is insisted that the year B. C. 1322, the æra of Menophres, fell in the reign of Menephtha, then the celebration of the astronomical event was registered at Thebes in the year B. C. 1301, in the reign of Rameses III, as it had previously been in Lower Egypt in the year B. C. 1322, in the reign of Menephtha.

22. For it is to be observed that, while the inscription of the calendar of Rameses III. records the festival of the manifestation of Sothis at Thebes in B. C. 1301, no monumental evidences exist to connect directly the name of Menephtha with any such event. The ceiling-picture of the Ramesseum was formed in the preceding reign and before the year B. C. 1322; and no record of the festival of Sothis which can be referred to that year, has yet been found. This is an argument in favour of the opinion that the observation of the heliacal rising of Sothis made in that year was celebrated in Lower Egypt, and not at Thebes. And on this consideration we may, perhaps, see some reason why the name of Menephtha—supposing it to be the same with the Menophres of Theon—may have been connected with that renewal of the Sothic cycle which was observed at Tanis or Sais in B. C. 1322.

23. This king Menephtha was devoted in an especial manner to the worship of the god Sutech or Typhon, the peculiar deity of the quasi-Asiatic or Copto-Phœnician settlers in the cities of the north of the Delta. This was the god of the supposed foreign race whom Manetho calls the Hyksos, and concerning whom the famous war broke out, which ended

by placing the eighteenth dynasty on the throne. There was a particular form of this god, instituted by Menephtha, and called, "the god Sutech of king Menephtha." The king himself is styled, "beloved by Sutech, lord of the city of Avaris."[19] Avaris was the celebrated Typhonian city of the Hyksos, the same with Tanis, the Hebrew Zoan.[20] Menephtha, then, was in some manner peculiarly connected with the principal northern cities of Lower Egypt—Sais and Tanis—and as it is not improbable that he was reigning at that period, his name may have been associated with the celebration of the great festival held in the year B. C. 1322 in Lower Egypt at the first observation of the heliacal rising of Sothis at the commencement of the new year. There is, however, no proof that the Egyptian astronomers connected any renewal of a Sothic period with the name of the monarch reigning at the time of that event. All the evidence on the subject tends to show that the ancient Egyptians were acquainted with and employed but one æra, the æra of Menes, and that the re-commencement of a Sothic period made no break and necessitated no fresh departure in their reckoning. The total absence from those monuments which are of later date than B. C. 1322 of any evidence of a chronological reckoning from the commencement of a Sothic cycle, proves decisively that no such æra was employed. The Turin Papyrus, written probably after this date, contains no notice of it.[21]

24. The next representation connected with the appearance of Sothis, is that on the ceiling of the Ramesseum, which will

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[19] Brugsch, Histoire d'Egypte, p. 175.

[20] Brugsch, Geographische Inschriften, b. i. p. 88.

[21] The fragment of the Turin Papyrus, No. 34, containing the names of Tat and Onnas, is said to contain a summing up of the years from Menes. As it was published by Lepsius in his "Auswahl," it certainly appears to do so; in the "Königsbuch" it does not. Brugsch and Lesueur have both published this fragment, as containing this computation from Menes to the end of the fifth dynasty.

be presently described. This picture has given rise to a great number of opinions as to its astronomical and mythological character; but nothing certain has been deduced from it. No doubt the near approach of the calculated termination of the current cycle, and the expected observation of the heliacal rising of Sothis on the first day of the new year, are connected with, and probably gave rise to, the representation.

The inscription accompanying the picture states, "He (the god) gives to thee (Rameses II.) to shine like the star Isis-Sothis in heaven, the star of the beginning of the year."[22] Sir Gardner Wilkinson thought—and others have adopted his opinion—that the representation was meant to point out the heliacal rising of Sothis on one of the five intercalary days preceding the 1st of Thoth, and therefore from twenty to five years before the commencement of the cycle. As the Ramesseum was erected by the father of Menephtha, this view would accord with the opinion of those who place the commencement of the Sothic period in the reign of the latter king. It seems probable, however, that the representation is not intended to denote any precise date, but rather to depict the normal condition of the celestial year, in which the barque of Isis-Sothis, placed at the commencement of the year, leads the procession, followed by the five planets, and having the two jackals in the corresponding position one on each side of the winter solstitial point.

We see that in the various lists of Decans, which represent the path of the constellations over the arch of the heavens, Sothis is always placed at one extremity of the list, and therefore always in the first decade of the month Thoth, without any reference to the vague years, or to the heliacal rising of the star in that month; it is evidently only a conventional form of representation in these lists, and may have no deeper meaning on the ceiling of the Ramesseum.

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[22] Chronologie, p. 119.

25. The last of the hieroglyphic inscriptions relating to the rising of Sirius, and capable of affording a positive date, is one of considerable importance. It was discovered by M. Lepsius on a stone which had been built into the wall of the quay at the island of Elephantine, just beyond the southern boundary of Egypt Proper. This stone formed part of the remains of a temple built by Thothmes III. of the eighteenth dynasty, to Chnoum, the god of the Cataract. Unfortunately, the name of the king does not appear on this particular fragment, though it has been found in a mutilated state on other blocks belonging to the same temple, as alleged by all those who are most competent to give an opinion on the subject.

The inscription, which has formed part of a festival-calendar similar to that already described of Rameses III, reads very plainly; "The twenty-eighth day of the third month of the inundation" (according to Champollion)—that is, the 28th of the month Epiphi—"manifestation of Sothis, festival; on this day service to be performed—."[23] It is admitted, that this being a local calendar of festivals to be observed at this temple of Chnoum at Elephantine, and recorded chiefly as evidence of the endowments made by the king, the calculation for ascertaining the year in which Sothis rose heliacally on the 28th Epiphi, must be based on the latitude of Elephantine.

M. Biot on this basis has fixed the date of this inscription at the year B.C. 1445. If calculated for the latitude of Memphis, it would be B.C. 1474; or, counting back from the commencement of the cycle in B.C. 1322, the date of the inscription will be B.C. 1470. According to the chronological tables of Lepsius, Thothmes III. reigned from B.C. 1590 to B.C. 1564. In the year B.C. 1470, according to the same table, was reigning the illegitimate king Ai, whose place is

[23] Königsbuch, p. 164.

between Amenophis III. and Horus. The inscription, therefore, if true, places the reign of Thothmes III. about 120 years earlier than the chronology.

26. Lepsius has suggested a mode of removing this difficulty. The hieroglyphical inscriptions, he says, frequently contain clerical errors which must be attributed to the carelessness of the workmen employed in the painting or engraving. The official decree of the government, on the Rosetta Stone, exhibits a false date in the expression of one of the months. Moreover, in the festival-calendar of Rameses III. at Medinet Habou, there are at least two instances of such mistakes, the third water month or Athyr being written instead of the fourth water month, Choiak, owing to the carelessness of the engraver, who has left out one stroke of the four which should express that number.

In the present instance—the Elephantine calendar fragment—it is suggested that the workman has given to the number of the month three strokes III instead of two II; the consequence of this mistake is, that he has represented the heliacal rising of Sothis to have taken place on the 28th of the month Epiphi, instead of on the 28th of the month Paoni, exactly one month too late; and the difference of a month in the date of the observation, is equal to a difference of 120 years.

It is difficult to know what observation to offer on this suggestion. Brugsch, who places the reign of Thothmes III. between B. C. 1625 and 1577, simply remarks, that the date obtained by the suggested correction is more conformable to the Manethonian chronology. Bunsen agrees with it most fully; remarking that the dates of either B. C. 1470 or 1444 are impossible.

27. If, however, it is allowable to alter a monumental inscription, plain and legible, not defaced, injured, or doubtful on the face of it, because it presents a date which is pronounced impossible, inasmuch as it does not accord with the

date obtained by aid of the figures of the Greek lists, there must be an end to all faith in, and all reliance on, the evidence afforded by hieroglyphic inscriptions. Who is to say that the monumental inscription of the forty-fourth year of Sesortasen I. is not a mistake of the engraver for the twenty-third, as given by Eratosthenes, or the thirty-fourth, or the fourteenth? One of the most important indications of the Royal Papyrus, is simply the number 90 on a fragment without any name attached, but which is reasonably taken to give the regnal years of Phiops, a king of the sixth dynasty. If the scribe may have made a mistake and inserted one figure too many for the sake of symmetry, the value of the evidence would be greatly weakened; if he has inserted two too many, it would be destroyed. It is impossible to foretell where this kind of rectification is to stop, or to judge when the liberty of emendation may degenerate into license; and it is better that the Manethonian chronology should bend to the monuments, than that the monuments should be broken down to the measure of the Manethonian chronology.

28. The fact that this calendar, and therefore the date inscribed on it, belongs to the time of Thothmes III, has been called in question by M. de Rougé, on the ground that there are at the same place the remains of other calendars of the time of Rameses II. and Rameses III. The epoch of Rameses II. cannot, however, range many years beyond B. C. 1322, certainly not up to the year B.C. 1400, and therefore any connexion between his name and the inscription of Elephantine is out of the question. Still less can the date of either B.C. 1474 or 1444 belong to the reign of Rameses III. According to Lepsius' chronology the year 1474 falls in the time of the heretic disk-worshippers; 1444 is the last year of Horus, or the first of Rameses I.

29. To some extent the ascription of this fragment of the calendar of Elephantine to the reign of Thothmes III, is

corroborated by a dedicatory inscription of the temple at Semneh in Nubia, dated in the second year, the seventh day of the month Paoni, in the reign of Thothmes III, which declares that certain offerings are to be made among others upon three occasions, each of which is the commencement of the seasons; that is, as it is supposed, at the beginning of each tetrameny or division of the year into three seasons of four months each. The inscription runs thus:

"The Prince of Ethiopia, commanding in the land of the South, has caused to be registered the offerings dedicated to the king Sesortasen III. in the temple of his father the god Tatoun, residing in Nubia."

Farther on it continues to describe the festivals:

"The festival of the commencement of the season. The festival of the defeat of the Pennou, which falls on the twenty-first day of the month Pharmouthi;

"The festival of the commencement of the seasons, (so many measures of grain) every year for the defeat of the Pennou."[24]

From this it is supposed that the festival of the defeat of the Pennou coincided with one of the festivals of the commencement of the seasons, and that this festival fell on the 21st of Pharmouthi, in the second year of the reign of Thothmes III.

Calculating from the date already obtained from the Elephantine calendar inscription of Thothmes III, M. Biot finds that the vernal equinox fell on the twenty-first day of Pharmouthi, in the year B. C. 1444. It is thought that this is "the commencement of the season" referred to in the inscription of Semneh, and that the result is confirmatory of the date obtained from the Elephantine calendar for the reign of

[24] M. de Rougé. Mémoire de quelques Phénomènes Célestes. *Revue Archæologique*, vol. ix. p. 653.

Thothmes III.[25] That these dates should not accord with the chronology of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties as made out from the Greek lists and the hitherto received collocation of the monumental evidence, cannot militate against their value.

30. Dr. Brugsch has remarked on a peculiar title given to the king Sethos I. of the nineteenth, and also to Amenemha I. of the twelfth dynasty. This title he reads "renaissance," or "the born again," or "new birth," and believes that it is not merely a title but an astronomical indication, referring to the heliacal rising of Sothis. He cites an inscription from a representation of the victories of Sethos, at Karnac, dated in the first year of the "renaissances." This would make the date of B. C. 1322 fall in the reign of this monarch, and the year B. C. 2782 in the reign of Amenemha I, so that the commencements of the nineteenth and twelfth dynasties would be separated by the period of a Sothic cycle or 1461 years.[26]

The value of the symbol in question does not seem to be as yet determined with sufficient certainty, to permit of our fixing the date of the first king of the twelfth dynasty at the commencement of the Sothic cycle in B.C. 2782. Lepsius is not inclined to admit the meaning given by Brugsch to the title of Sethos. He sees in it only a particular form of prænomen or royal title, and is not disposed to attach to it any astronomical value.[27]

31. All the dates hitherto noticed as founded on astronomical observations have been connected with the Sothic cycle and the heliacal rising of the star Sothis. It is said, however, that the Egyptians were acquainted with and employed other

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[25] See a paper on certain dates in Egyptian Chronology by Mr. Poole, in Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit., vol. v. new series, p. 325.

[26] Histoire d'Egypte, p. 130. In his Canon Chronologique, however, Brugsch places the reign of Sethos I. between the years B.C. 1458 and 1407.

[27] Königsbuch, p. 152, note.

cyclical periods of time, at a very early stage of their history, and in order to discuss this point it is necessary to make some observations on the Egyptian calendar.

32. Whatever in times of very remote antiquity may have been the nature and length of the Egyptian year, we find it at the earliest epoch to which our knowledge of it reaches, to have consisted of 365 days, divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days or epagomenæ, placed at the end of the twelfth month. The twelve months were divided into three seasons of four months each, corresponding to the natural phenomena of the year in Egypt, which occurred with singular regularity; these are usually called the Season of the Inundation, the Season of Vegetation, and the Season of Harvest. The modern inhabitants of Egypt continue to call the three seasons of the natural year Winter, Summer, and the Inundation, literally, "the Nile."

The twelve months of the year were not distinguished in the hieroglyphic inscriptions by *names*, but were styled the first, second, third, and fourth month of the Season of the Inundation, the first, second, third, and fourth month of the Season of Vegetation, &c. The months had, however, popular appellations, which they have retained in a modified form by the Copto-Arab occupiers of the soil down to the present day.

33. As a year of 365 days without intercalation was less than the solar or true year by about a quarter of a day, the months gradually ceased to correspond with the natural phenomena from which their notation had originally been derived, till at length the months comprising the season of Inundation would occur in the season when the waters of the Nile had fallen back into their bed. This year of 365 days is therefore called the Vague or Wandering Year. This retrogression of the vague year taking place at the rate of one day in every four years, it follows that at the end of 1460

solar years, the first day of the first month of the vague year would again arrive at the point from which it started.

The Egyptian priests calculated this point from the heliacal rising of Sothis, or the Dog-star, which for more than a thousand years rose heliacally or with the sun, about the 20th of July, in the latitude of Memphis. The Egyptian civil or vague year commenced with the first day of the first month Thoth, and when this day fell on the 20th of July, the vague and sidereal years corresponded, and a Sothic cycle commenced and was completed. According to the interpretation of the hieroglyphical signs of the three seasons proposed by Champollion, the months were thus distributed:

| Season of Vegetation. | Season of Harvest. | Season of the Inundation. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Thoth. | 1. Tybi. | 1. Pachon. |
| 2. Paophi. | 2. Mechir. | 2. Paoni. |
| 3. Athyr. | 3. Phamenoth. | 3. Epiphi. |
| 4. Choiak. | 4. Pharmuthi. | 4. Mesori. |

The swelling of the Nile, and consequently the commencement of the inundation, began to take place in Egypt every year about the time of the summer solstice.

34. It is evident that this arrangement of the signs of the seasons must have been invented at a period when the first day of the first month of the season of the Inundation, corresponded with the summer solstice and the commencement of the real inundation, or the swelling of the waters of the Nile. But this must have been at a time when, if we adhere to the reading of Champollion, the 1st of the month Pachon fell at the summer solstice, and so coincided with the commencement of the Inundation, and not the 1st of Thoth. If this ever was the case, the place of the epagomenæ or intercalary days, which were necessarily placed at the end of the twelfth month, must have been shifted from the end

of the month Pharmuthi, to their present position, the end of the month Mesori. As far back, however, as hieroglyphical notices of the year reach, we find that the first day of the month Thoth was the beginning of the year.

35. As the time which elapsed between the heliacal rising of Sothis on the first day of Thoth and the next occurrence of that event was 1461 vague years; so the time which was required for the renewal of the correspondence of the first day of the civil year with the summer solstice, and the commencement of the inundation, or the interval between one solstitial 1st of Thoth and another, was 1505, or in round numbers, 1500 years.

This period might, therefore, have formed for the Egyptians another cycle, different from the Sothis cycle, and Lepsius is of opinion that they were acquainted with such a cycle, and that it was, in fact, the celebrated Phœnix period.

In a learned argument on this subject,[28] he shows that according to all the authorities, the Phœnix was at once a symbol of the sun and of the inundation. As Sothis was the star, so the Phœnix was the sun of the inundation. The summer solstice was the fixed point from which the Egyptians dated the commencement of the increase of the river, and with no other period of the year can the symbolic meaning of the Phœnix in its double acceptation as an emblem of the sun and of the inundation be connected. As the Sothis period, counted from the true heliacal rising of Sirius on the first day of the month Thoth, to the time when it again rose heliacally on the same day of that month, occupied a period of 1461 vague years, so the Phœnix period counted from one solstitial 1st of Thoth to another, occupied 1500 or rather 1505 vague years. The Phœnix cycle was therefore a tropical cycle.

36. This arrangement, then, must have been invented at

[28] Chronologie, p. 187.

some epoch when the signs of the artificial calendar corresponded to the natural phenomena they were intended to represent. Lepsius, holding Champóllion's interpretation to be the true one, looks therefore for a time when the first day of Pachon, that is, of the first month of the Inundation, fell at the summer solstice. The years when this coincidence occurred, each commence a Phœnix cycle of 1500 years, and of these the year B. C. 3282 is fixed upon by Lepsius for the origin of the Egyptian calendar. In that year, the first day of the first month of the Inundation—that is, 1st Pachon —fell at the summer solstice, which therefore corresponded with the commencement of the Inundation. In this same year also, the star Sothis rose heliacally at the summer solstice. This combination of the three phenomena—two astronomical and one telluric—coinciding at the same period of the same year, certainly renders the year B. C. 3282 a very remarkable one.

37. If this calendar originated when the 1st of the month Pachon corresponded with the commencement of the Inundation, and was considered the first month of the year, it is evident that at some period between that epoch and the reign of Rameses II. a great change had been effected, the calendar reformed, and the place of the intercalary days changed, when the commencement of the year was made to correspond with the 1st of the month Thoth. This change, which Lepsius calls the reform of the solar calendar, he fixes at the year B. C. 2782.[29]

At this point of time, one third part of the Phœnix cycle of 1500 years had elapsed, and the first of Thoth now fell at the summer solstice. At the same time, the heliacal rising of Sothis coincided with the summer solstice for the latitude of Elephantine in Upper Egypt; while for the latitude of Memphis, the capital of Lower Egypt, it had fallen away from four to five days from the solstitial point.

[29] Chronologie, p. 215.

According to Lepsius' scheme of Egyptian chronology, in the year B. C. 3282, when the calendar was first arranged as a year of 365 days, and in accordance with the phenomena of the three seasons of the year, the then ruling dynasty was that of the Great Pyramid-builders, whose seat was at Memphis in Lower Egypt. But 500 years later, in B. C. 2782, reigned the sixth dynasty, whose metropolis was in Upper Egypt, either at Thebes, This, or Elephantine.

This last reform of the calendar, supposed to have been made B. C. 2782, must have been a radical one. The computation of the Sothis period, which must originally have been reckoned from the heliacal rising of Sothis on the 1st Pachon, was destroyed, and must have been altogether reckoned anew; the place of the five intercalary days shifted one-third of the circle, and the popular names of the months either changed, if they existed previously, or newly introduced. A more complete remodelling of the calendar can hardly be conceived; and yet if Champollion's interpretation of the signs of the seasons be the true one, the Egyptian priests, in the midst of all this change, permitted those symbols which had been invented to represent the natural seasons of the year, to remain unchanged, and to give a false representation of those phenomena. It is true that as the symbols of the seasons gradually shifted with the retrogression of the vague year, they were always more or less out of correspondence with the phenomena they were intended to indicate; but it is not the less extraordinary that when the calendar was remodelled, these symbols should not also have been so arranged as to make the symbols of the seasons correspond with the phenomena of the seasons in the normal year, that is, when the star Sothis again rose heliacally on the 1st Thoth.

38. These considerations have led to the opinion that Champollion was mistaken in his interpretation of the symbols of the seasons, and that the four months of the Inundation are Thoth, Paophi, Athyr, and Choiak. Brugsch has advo-

cated this as the true reading of these signs, which certainly removes what would otherwise be a patent contradiction between the signs of the months and the natural phenomena to which they ought to correspond. There are, however, considerations connected with the reform at an early epoch of the Egyptian calendar, which seem to indicate that the four months commencing with Pachon did at one time represent the season of the Inundation, as the hieroglyphic symbol attached to them certainly appears to indicate.[30]

39. It is more probable that the invention of the Egyptian calendar, or of that condition of it which alone is known to us by direct evidence, is of later date than the year B. C. 2782, but referred back proleptically to that date, the calculated commencement of a Sothic cycle, when the observations of the Egyptian astronomers led them to compute the period of the coincidence of their vague and fixed calendar.

The statement that the Great Pyramid-builders of the fourth dynasty were reigning at Memphis B. C. 3282, and the sixth dynasty in Upper Egypt, B. C. 2782, rests on a chronological system which has been shown to be unsound; and no evidence exists to show that the heliacal rising of the Dog-star on the 1st Thoth had been the subject of obser-

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[30] Brugsch sur la Division de l'Année des Anciens Egyptiens. Berlin, 1856. Dr. Brugsch does not appear to have been aware that this same proposal to correct Champollion's reading of these signs was made by me in a paper read before the Syro-Egyptian Society of London, December 11th, 1849, and printed in Original Papers read before the Syro-Egyptian Society, vol. i. part 2. London, 1850.

Mr. Birch also has proposed a very natural and simple explanation of these symbols of the seasons; viz. that the names of all three of the Egyptian seasons refer to the condition of the Nile; that the season "Sha," beginning with the month Thoth, means "the rise," *i.e.* the season of the rise of the Nile; the second season, "Her," the coming forth, or overflow of the river; and the third, "Aru," the river, or low Nile. He thinks also, that when the calendar was formed, the 1st of Thoth, or of the rise, must have corresponded with the solstice. *Note to Observations on an Egyptian Calendar of the reign of Philip Aridæus in Journal of Archæolog. Institute*, vol. vii. p. 113.

vation by the Egyptians for a whole cycle before that commencement of the Sothic cycle fixed by this astronomical observation, B. C. 1322. It will be found that according to the chronology of the Egyptians themselves, as furnished by the Theban priests to Eratosthenes, the epoch of the Pyramid-builders of the fourth dynasty does not reach so high as the commencement of the Sothic cycle B. C. 2782.

40. To return to the Phœnix cycle: this was a period of 1500, or more correctly, 1505 years. Two Phœnix cycles, or 3000 years, constituted the period during which, according to the Egyptian mythology, the soul, after death, accomplished its wanderings through the infernal and celestial regions. Herodotus, the oldest and best authority, was informed at Heliopolis, that the Phœnix made its appearance once in 500 years; at which interval it brought the body of its deceased parent from Arabia to the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis. He says nothing directly of its age, and had not heard the stories related at a later period by the Greeks, of the new Phœnix springing from the funeral pile of the parent. He knew nothing of any connexion between the Phœnix and any astronomical calculation; and on the whole it seems probable that the story of the Phœnix belongs solely to the domain of mythology, though there is no apparent connexion between the Heliopolitan legend and the myth of the wanderings of the soul; nor can we see how, if the period of the latter was 3000 years, the return of the Phœnix at intervals of one-sixth of that time is to be connected with it.

41. A different view of the Phœnix cycle, and of the explanation to be given of the discrepancies in the statements of the ancients as to the return of the Phœnix, has been taken by other writers.

According to Dr. Hincks, the Egyptians were acquainted at a very early period with a luni-solar cycle of 600 years, the commencement of which was fixed by the coincidence of the new moon and the autumnal equinox, which happened in

the years B.C. 3567, 2967, 2367, and 1767. In this latter year a reform of the calendar took place; the year was fixed at 365 days without intercalation, and, consequently, the tropical, or Phœnix cycle of 1505, or 1500 vague years, then commenced. The renewal of each of these cycles was called "the return of the Phœnix," and it would occasionally happen that only 300 years intervened between two such events. Thus the 600-year cycle, which commenced B.C. 1767, terminated B.C. 1167, when the Phœnix of Sesostris appeared; again in B.C. 567, when the Phœnix of Amasis appeared. Then, 300 years later, the 1500-year cycle terminated in B.C. 267, when the Phœnix of Ptolemy appeared, after an interval of only 300 years from the last appearance; and in 300 years more, A.D. 34, the luni-solar cycle of 600 years was renewed, being the appearance of the Phœnix in the reign of Tiberius.[31]

This is, no doubt, an ingenious explanation of the varying length attributed by ancient writers to the life of the Phœnix, but we have no evidence of the knowledge or employment of either the luni-solar cycle of 600, or of the tropical cycle of 1500 years by the ancient Egyptians; and, as far as we can see, the Phœnix legend would appear to have had rather a mythological than an astronomical meaning, or, if the latter, that it was connected with the Sothic cycle of 1461 years.

42. An attempt has also been made to obtain from the great astronomical representation on the ceiling of one of the apartments at the Ramesseum, or great temple erected at Gourneh by Rameses II, who reigned in the middle of the fourteenth century B.C., evidence of the use of a cycle founded on the coincidence of phenomena different from those hitherto noticed.

This representation is oblong in form, divided into three longitudinal bands, the whole surrounded by a border of

[31] On the Cycles used by the Ancient Egyptians. Tr. Roy. Ir. Acad., vol. xviii. p. 153.

hieroglyphics, which state that the temple was erected by Rameses II. Along the top of the upper subdivision runs a narrow band divided into thirteen spaces, which are occupied by the signs of the twelve months, divided into their three seasons, the thirteenth space being intended to be filled up by the five intercalary days, or epagomenæ. This thirteenth space occupies the centre of this band; the twelve months being arranged six on each side of it, the month to the left of the central space being Thoth, the first month, that to the right Mesori, the last month of the year.

The upper division immediately below the signs of the months is occupied by figures representing fixed stars and planets.

i. Beneath the month of Thoth is placed the figure of Set, the goddess of the star Sothis, or the Dog-star.

ii. Beneath the three following months, Paophi, Athyr, and Choiak, are the figures of three planet-gods, and a space for a fourth which has not been filled up.

iii. Beneath the fifth month, Tybi, is the figure of the bird Bennu, supposed to represent the Phœnix.

The central of the three longitudinal bands is occupied by figures with which we have no immediate concern. The lower band is occupied by the figures of the deities peculiarly appropriated to each month, to each of whom the king, Rameses II, is represented offering sacrifice.

In this lower subdivision, the central space beneath and corresponding to that allotted in the upper band to the epagomenæ, is occupied by the figure of a cynocephalus, seated on a pillar of the well-known form called Tet in the hieroglyphics.

Beneath the space occupied in the upper subdivision by the bird Bennu, and, therefore, beneath the month Mechir, is a seated jackal, occupying, therefore, the extreme left of the picture, and facing towards the centre. Beneath the month Phamenoth, which as the seventh month is at the

extreme right of the line of months, is also a seated jackal, precisely similar to the other, at the extreme right of the picture, and also looking towards the centre.

The hieroglyphical names given to these jackals are, to that on the left beneath the month Mechir, the name RUKH, to that on the right beneath the month Phamenoth RUKH-SI.

43. In this representation Mr. Poole has thought that he has discovered evidence of an important cycle, which fixes with exactitude certain points in the ancient Egyptian chronology.[32]

44. This cycle, which he calls the Tropical cycle, is one of 1505 vague years, and was marked, as to its commencement, by the coincidence of the new moon with the vernal equinox in the year B.C. 2005, in which year the first day of Thoth fell at the winter solstice.

The grounds on which he arrives at this conclusion are mainly these:

i. "Horapollo says that a sitting cynocephalus denoted the two equinoxes. But though the seated cynocephalus may have denoted the two equinoxes in the time of Horapollo, yet as this figure occurs but once in this representation of the year, it could only have denoted one equinox in the time of Rameses II.[33] For, after an interval of six months, we find a figure which undoubtedly represents the vernal

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[32] Horæ Egyptiacæ. London, 1857.

[33] Horapollo Nilous was an Egyptian by birth, a native of Phœnebythis, who wrote a treatise on hieroglyphical symbols in the beginning of the fifth century. The work is said to have been written in the native Egyptian, or Coptic language, and was translated into Greek by one Philippus. Though not uninstructive, it is a monument of the ignorance of the Egyptians of the fifth century of the Christian æra, of the real import of the mythological fables of their ancestors. But how can it be supposed that the cynocephalus represented in the time of Horapollo anything it had not represented in the days of Rameses? In the fifth century of the Christian æra, when Horapollo wrote, all Egypt was Christian; the cynocephalus had long been dead, and all the gods with him, and represented nothing.

equinox; and, consequently, the cynocephalus represents the autumnal equinox.

ii. "The two jackals seated respectively under the months Mechir and Phamenoth, are called in the hieroglyphics, the first, *Rukh*, the second, *Rukh-si*, that is, the 'son of Rukh,' which we may therefore denominate the Great, and the Little Rukh. 'Rukh' means, in Egyptian, 'to burn,' 'heat,' 'a live coal.'"

45. It is a remarkable instance of the persistence of Egyptian tradition, that the modern Egyptians to this day call the vernal equinox "Esh-shums-el-kabir," the great sun; and a point of time exactly a zodiacal month before the vernal equinox, "Esh-shums-es-sageereh," the little sun; while in the modern Egyptian almanacks, "the little sun" is also noticed under the name "El-jemreh-el-oola," the first live coal; names exactly corresponding to, and derived from the names employed by the Egyptians of the fourteenth century B.C. to designate the two symbols of the jackals in the representation of the Ramesseum.

46. If the cynocephalus represents the autumnal equinox, the Little Rukh, which is placed in the Ramesseum picture six months from it, must represent the vernal equinox; and the Great Rukh represents a point of time one month before the vernal equinox, which is, however, in an inverse order to that of the modern Egyptian almanacks.

47. The first link in this chain of evidence is the identification of the sitting cynocephalus with the autumnal equinox; the second, that of the Little Rukh with the vernal equinox; the third should be to identify something with the new moon. This cannot be the Great Rukh, for that is fixed one month before the vernal equinox, and could, therefore, never coincide with it, and in fact, the Great Rukh appears to play no part at all in the phenomena of coincidence, and might as well have been omitted.

48. It is hardly necessary to point out that the proof of

the identity of the Little Rukh with the vernal equinox entirely fails.

Moreover, the explanation given of the astronomical representation on the ceiling of the Ramesseum, which is no doubt in some sense intended to represent the Egyptian heavens at or near the epoch of the heliacal rising of Sothis on the 1st day of Thoth, or the beginning of the normal year, does not seem to be the true one.

If we take this oblong representation of the Ramesseum, and bring the right and left extremities together, so as to enclose the figures in a ring, the outer band of this ring will contain the symbols of the twelve months, and the space intended for the five epagomenæ. When once the picture is looked at from this point of view, the whole matter becomes perfectly plain.[34] The boat of the goddess of the star Sothis, the goddess of the commencement of the year, stands beneath the space given to the month Thoth. The figure of the sitting cynocephalus comes beneath the space occupied by the epagomenæ, and, therefore, most probably marks the point of the summer solstice. The two seated jackals, or Rukhs, are placed beneath the sixth and seventh months at the opposite side of the circle, and are, therefore, certainly connected with the winter solstice, the conventional point of which in this representation lies between them. They are the "Watchers at the Gate," the "Ap-Heru," who mark, the one, the descent of the sun, "Rukh-ur," the older or greater heat, through the southern hemisphere to the lowest point of the ecliptic at the winter solstice, the mythical and astrological descent of Osiris into Hades; the other marks his reappearance, as the new or infant heat, "Rukh-si," emerging from the point of the winter solstice, to begin his course anew, ascending through the northern hemisphere to reach again the highest point of the ecliptic at the summer solstice.[35]

[34] See Frontispiece.

[35] See Birch, Gallery of Antiquities, part i. p. 43.

Clemens of Alexandria related that the images of the two dogs, which were carried at certain festivals, represented the two hemispheres. In the mixed astrological and mythological representations of the tombs, these two jackals are the watchers of the path of the sun; in the funereal representations and on the mummy cases they are also guardians of the gate through which the souls of the deceased passed.[36]

49. It is evident that the terms the "Greater" and the "Lesser Heat," which have been retained by the inhabitants of Egypt, and are still in popular use after a lapse of certainly more than 3200 years, and are now applied to the vernal equinox and a point one month before it, are really the representatives of the terms Rukh and Rukh-si, employed by the Egyptian astronomers for the months Phamenoth and Mechir in the fourteenth century B. C. But at that period these two points bore reference not to the vernal equinox but to the winter solstice.

The reason of this change is obvious. When in the time of Cæsar the Egyptian year of 365 days was reformed and assimilated to the Julian year, by an intercalation of one day in every fourth year, the 1st Thoth fell on 29th of August. The Roman calendar reform fixed it there, so that it could shift no more, and consequently the months which in the normal Egyptian year at the commencement of a Sothic cycle, fell at the winter solstice, then and in all future time, fell at the vernal equinox.

50. It is therefore impossible to accept the identification of either of the jackal figures of the Ramesseum with the vernal equinox, and consequently the dates founded on the supposed commencement of a cycle, in which this is one of the elements, must be considered as unproved.

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[36] In the Book of the Dead, edited by Lepsius, the title of ch. 14, pl. vii. is, "The Chapter of the Actions on the 30th Mechir, during the exit of the eye of the Sun." Birch, Gallery of Antiquities, part i. p. 44.

51. The same observation must be applied to two other cycles supposed by Mr. Poole to be noticed on the monuments, a Phœnix cycle, and a period of time called the Great Panegyrical Year. This Phœnix cycle, supposed to have commenced B. C. 1986, differs in nothing from the Sothic cycle, except in its supposed commencement in the year when the constellation (called by the moderns) Cygnus or Aquila, or the last or principal star of one of those constellations, rose heliacally on the first day of Thoth. Mr. Poole assumes that the figure of the bird called "Bennou-Osiris," placed beneath the month Mechir, in the astronomical representation on the ceiling of the Ramesseum, represents a constellation, the heliacal rising of whose last or principal star on the 1st of Thoth marked the commencement of the period.

52. According to this view the Egyptians were acquainted with and employed two cycles of precisely the same length of 1461 vague years, founded on astronomical observations of a precisely similar nature, and commencing on the same day of the same month of the vague year. There is no limit to the number of cycles of this kind which may be imagined, and although the use of one such cycle is obvious, the employment of two or more is, to say the least, highly improbable.

53. The commencement of this Phœnix cycle, however, is fixed at B. C. 1986, by which means the first appearance of the Phœnix spoken of by Tacitus is made to fall in the reign of Sesostris (Sesortasen) of the twelfth dynasty; and the renewal of the period, or second appearance of the Phœnix, under Amasis of the twenty-sixth dynasty, in whose reign also, Tacitus mentions the recurrence of this phenomenon.

54. All reasonings founded on the notices left by the ancients of the return of the Phœnix are necessarily unsatisfactory. We see that this phenomenon is made to correspond with the renewal of cycles of different lengths, and having various commencements, by the several writers who have

endeavoured to support their particular views by reference to these statements.

It appears also that the figure in the Ramesseum which Mr. Poole looks upon as a representation of the Phœnix, and of a constellation the heliacal rising of one of whose stars forms the basis of his cycle, really represents one of the planets, and apparently the planet Venus.[37]

55. The division of time called the Great Panegyrical Year, is supposed to have consisted of a period of 365 years, divided into twelve lesser periods called Great Panegyrical Months, of thirty years each, with five intercalary years, corresponding to the five epagomenæ or intercalary days of the ordinary Egyptian year. Each great panegyrical month is assumed to have been divided in twenty subdivisions of one and a half years each.

The process employed in ascertaining the length of the smaller subdivisions of this period, which form the basis of the whole, is however evidently faulty. It is founded on the circumstance that in the calendar of the thirty-six Decans, the nineteenth Decan has appended to the name "Smat" a symbol which Mr. Poole reads "star of the division of the great panegyrical month," and being the nineteenth it is 180 degrees or half a year distant from the first Decan, or that which presides over the star Sothis.

The division of the great panegyrical month being fixed at one year and a half in length, its commencement is supposed to have been marked alternately by the rising of the first and the nineteenth Decan, or the stars Sothis and Smat.

It is unnecessary to follow any further these ingenious speculations, because it must be very doubtful whether the

[37] See an astronomical representation of the Ptolemaic epoch, published by Dr. Brugsch. Recueil des Monuments Egyptiens, part i. pl. xvii.

Egyptians themselves were acquainted with any such divisions of time as are here indicated.

56. The Egyptians represented the celestial vault as a kind of depressed arch, which they depicted by the figure of a female, looking downwards, and resting her hands and feet on the horizon. The space beneath this figure was divided usually into thirty-six parts, corresponding to the twelve months of the year, each month of thirty days being divided into three parts of ten days each, which the Greeks called Decades.

Each space, therefore, corresponded to some portion of the heavens, and contained some star or constellation of stars. In the oldest of these lists, that from the sepulchre of Sethos I, father of Rameses II, in the fourteenth century B. C., we see the first space or decade allotted to Sothis, the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth to Orion, and the seventh apparently to the Pleiades. Each division of ten days was presided over by a divinity or star-god, who was peculiarly attached to the first day of each decade. These divinities, the Greeks called Decans.

As this division of the heavens was calculated only for a year of 360 days, divided into thirty-six parts, and took no notice of the intercalary days, which would have required the introduction of a half Decan, it is evident that at the end of the year, the names of the Decans would no longer correspond to the places over which they presided. For the Egyptian astronomers having arrived at the end of the 360th day commenced counting the next decade with the 361st, by which means the first decade of the second year terminated not with the tenth, but with the fifth day of the month; and the second decade, and the following decades of that year, commenced on the sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-sixth days of each month, instead, as in the preceding year, on the first, eleventh, and twenty-first. In a year in which the decades commenced on the first, eleventh, and twenty-first days of the month,

there would be thirty-seven first days of decades; in a year in which they commenced on the sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-sixth, only thirty-six such days. The number of Decans therefore, or divinities of the decades, varied from thirty-six to thirty-seven.[38]

57. The Egyptians also divided the heavens into a northern and a southern hemisphere, the dividing points of which were the two solstices, which they placed in the horizon. The Decan Sothis or Isis-Set, the presiding genius of the first day of the first decade, marked the point of the summer solstice. In a series of thirty-six spaces, there is no central space; therefore the other point of division fell between the eighteenth and nineteenth decades. The Egyptian plan of the heavens, it has been observed, was not represented in a circular form, but a straight line, in which the thirty-six decades followed in a line from the first to the thirty-sixth. There was, therefore, no point opposite to the decade of Sothis, which at once marked to the eye the point of the winter solstice. But the eighteenth and nineteenth decades, between which this point fell, were occupied by one asterism and presided over by two Decans, of whom, in the earliest Decan-list, that of Sethos I. the eighteenth Decan, counting from Sothis, is called Ape-Smat, or "the first Smat," the other, Smat. In the tomb of Rameses IV. the nineteenth Decan counting from Sothis, is Ape-Smat, the eighteenth Smat. Both of these names have attached to them as a determinative the symbol of the half-moon and star, which Mr. Poole takes to mean, Division of the Great Panegyrical Month. But this symbol appears attached to those names only in the Ramesseum, where it is appended to that of the nineteenth Decan; and in the tomb of Rameses IV. to those of both the eighteenth and nineteenth. In the earlier list of Sethos I, and in the later one of Nectanebo, and that at Dendera, it

[38] De Rougé, in Revue Archæol. vol. vi. p. 536.

does not appear at all. The probability therefore is that this symbol is merely a determinative, which was sometimes employed and sometimes omitted as unessential. We may therefore regard it as pointing to the meaning of the word SMAT, as "he who divides," who "makes the middle;" we have the root of the word in the Coptic *mĭt*, the middle, with the old Egyptian causative prefix *s*; for between these two Decans the dividing line of the planisphere must have passed.

The two Smats, in fact, occupy in the list of Decans, exactly the corresponding position to those occupied by the two jackals in the representation of the Ramesseum.[39]

58. It is evident that the mere existence of this symbol, which ordinarily and in a number of instances denotes "a half month," being found in two out of the five known lists of Decans, is a very insufficient basis for calculating the length of an astronomical division of time, even if the whole subject of the Decans and of Egyptian Astronomy were much more clearly known than they are at present.

59. But we see very clearly that the Egyptians themselves attached no kind of astronomical value to these Decans and their stars, which belonged more to the province of mythology than to astronomy. Not only do the different representations vary among themselves as to the stars belonging to the particular decades, but in one representation at Thebes,[40] we have no less than forty-five divisions, which we can no longer term decades, in which Sothis must have occupied the forty-fifth space, as Orion appears in the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth, while the eighteenth and nineteenth are occupied by the two Smats.

60. It is impossible to feel satisfied with results obtained

[39] The word *Smau* occurs with the sense, "cut, divide," in the Medical Papyrus of M. Chabas. See Brugsch, Recueil des Mon. Egypt. part ii. p. 105.

[40] Brugsch, Recueil des Mon. Egypt. part i. pl. xvii.

from such very doubtful elements. But while objecting to the evidence adduced by Mr. Poole in support of his astronomical speculations, it must be admitted that the results at which he has arrived are very remarkable. For these results, however attained, are supported by the evidence derived from the Elephantine inscription, which it would appear was not known to Mr. Poole when he published his "Horæ Egyptiacæ."[41] The date which he assigns to the building of the Great Pyramid, agrees very nearly with that which has been arrived at in the course of the following investigation, on entirely different grounds. The whole subject seems to require reconsideration, and a more ample treatment of the evidence on which Mr. Poole's dates have been founded; and there can be no doubt that such a method of dealing with the problem of Egyptian chronology promises more satisfactory results than can be expected from the mere manipulation of the numbers of the Greek Lists.[42]

61. On a review of all the arguments that have been adduced on this subject, we must conclude that there is no sufficient evidence for the opinion that the Egyptians were acquainted with or employed any other cycle than that of 1461 vague years, which was determined by the heliacal rising of the star Sothis on the first day of the month Thoth. The Sothic cycle is at once the most ancient,[43] and the most recent cyclical period of the Egyptians with which we are

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[41] See a paper On certain Dates in Egyptian Chronology. Trans. Roy. Soc. of Literature, vol. v. p. 325.

[42] These views are more fully developed by the same writer, in an able article "Egypt," in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 8th edit. 1855.

[43] That is, if we infer from the inscriptions which notice the heliacal rising of Sothis, that this event was already connected with the knowledge of the cycle of 1461 years. In strictness no direct mention of any such cycle occurs either on the monuments or in the works of any Greek writers down to the Christian æra. There are reasons, however, for thinking that the Egyptian priests in the fourteenth century B. C. had recognized this cycle and employed it, after a fashion, chronologically. See *post*, Chapter vi.

acquainted. The festival of the manifestation of Sothis is noticed in the inscriptions of the tomb at Benihassan in the times of Sesortasen I, and may perhaps have been observed as early as the times of the king Pepi-Maire of the sixth dynasty, since the name of the goddess Sothis is found with those of other divinities, in the Litany engraved upon a monument preserved at the Museum of Turin, on which the name of that monarch is found.[44]

It is this cycle which we find employed in the various Egyptian chronicles which have come down to us; it is that which alone appears to have been known to the Greeks; and the idea of a Tropical or Phœnix cycle seems to owe its existence rather to the astronomical knowledge of modern writers than to the observations of the ancient Egyptians.[45]

62. Another inscription which appears to afford the means of ascertaining a date of considerable interest, is that which at Thebes records the Asiatic conquests of Thothmes III.

It states that, "In the twenty-third year (of his reign) the 22nd day of Pachon, being the day of the *Festival of the New Moon*, and of the reception of the royal crown—his Majesty advanced to undertake the assault of the city of Megiddo." It is unquestionable that we have here an astronomical date fixed to the reign of Thothmes III.

This date has been examined in a learned essay by Mr. Basil Cooper, who points out that the new moon for the latitude of Alexandria fell on the 22nd day of Pachon, B. C. 1493, corresponding to the 19th of May of our calendar and the first day of the Hebrew month Sivan.[46]

Taking this fact in connexion with the date obtained from

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[44] Revue Archæolog. vol. ix. p. 667.

[45] Ælian says, Hist. Anim. vol. vi. p. 58, that the Egyptian priests disputed about the expiration of a Phœnix period, which rather tends to show it was not a cycle but a mythological term of years.

[46] The Hieroglyphical Date of the Exodus in the Annals of Thothmes the Great, by Basil H. Cooper, B.A. London, 1860.

the calendar fragment of Elephantine (which Mr. Cooper, taking the standard latitude of Middle Egypt and counting back from the year B. C. 1322, makes B. C. 1477-1474) the accession of Thothmes III. is placed in the year B. C. 1516-15. The new moons, however, corresponded with the same days of the Egyptian vague year at intervals of twenty-five years, the Egyptian lunar or Apis cycle. Supposing then that the New Moon festival referred to in the inscription is that of 22nd of Pachon, B. C. 1468, then the first year of the reign of Thothmes III. fell in the year B. C. 1445, or the very year in which, according to the calculations of M. Biot, the manifestation of Sothis is recorded on the Elephantine calendar.[47]

63. Endeavours have been made to extract from the monumental inscriptions materials for other fixed dates for events connected with the reigns of Egyptian kings, but hitherto without success. The notices of the highest rise of the inundation, frequent under the kings of the twelfth dynasty, do not, unfortunately, contain sufficiently precise indications of the time at which such observations were made, to afford the elements required for the calculation.

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[47] With this astronomical date of the occurrence of the new moon festival on the 22nd day of Pachon in the twenty-third year of Thothmes III, Mr. Cooper connects the date of the 2nd Pachon mentioned in the same inscription as that of the anniversary festival of the royal crowns, which he supposes to denote the accession of Thothmes III. to the throne. This date fell in B. C. 1515, on the twelfth day of the second lunar month counting from the equinox. Then in Exodus xv. 22-27, it is stated that the Israelites went *three days* into the wilderness without finding water; and left Elim on the fifteenth day of the second month after their departing out of the land of Egypt. It is inferred that they left Egypt on the twelfth day of the month, the first day of the accession of Thothmes III. and the day of the death of his predecessor Thothmes II, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, who was drowned in the Red Sea. Though differing with Mr. Cooper as to the date of the Elephantine Calendar, and thinking that fifteen days is too short a time to be allowed for the period between the departure from Egypt and the march from Elim, we must admit that the questions raised in his very interesting essay are worthy of attentive consideration.

64. We conclude this part of our investigation by citing the opinions expressed on the subject of Egyptian chronology by one of the most able and successful interpreters of the Egyptian monuments. "We have," he says, "in our historical sketch avoided the assignment of any date to the events noticed, and have pointed out the uncertainty which attaches to the calculations made upon the chronology of the ancient Egyptian dynasties; it may perhaps be necessary in this place to indicate the limits of our knowledge of this subject.

"It would be useless in this brief review to give an array of figures that proceed from no certain source; for, although we have a crowd of different systems, we have as yet no true chronology. The Egyptians did not make use of any astronomical cycle in counting their years; they dated their monuments only by the regnal years of the ruling sovereign, and the least interruption in dates of this kind vitiates the whole series.

"The lists of Manetho, containing the succession of the Egyptian dynasties, accompanied by chronological dates, were the only source that could be employed in the attempt to construct a chronology for Egyptian history; and but a few years since, there was too great a disposition to consider these an infallible criterion. As soon, however, as these lists came to be confronted with the monuments, it became necessary to modify this opinion. Though the lists of Manetho have acquired a certain importance, in consequence of being recognised as historical documents really derived from Egyptian sources, the figures which we now find attached to them have not been able to sustain a critical examination founded on the evidence of the monuments.

"As soon as the compilers of the lists lost the guide they had found in the Canon of Ptolemy, from the time of the twenty-sixth dynasty, the last before the invasion of Cambyses, the inscriptions have revealed that these figures are erroneous to the extent of ten years. A second and more

considerable error is rendered evident by the newly discovered inscription in the tomb of Apis, for the times which precede Psammetichus, so that we are compelled more than ever to distrust the chronological figures preserved in the lists of Manetho. If these figures are incorrect for those epochs in which the Greeks might have given almost direct assistance to the chronologists by whom they have been preserved to us, what reliance can we place in them when we must ascend to epochs still more remote?

"The knowledge hitherto acquired by the study of the monuments amounts to this. It seems agreed that Cambyses conquered Egypt in the third year of his reign, which is the 221st year of the æra of Nabonassar. The chronological canon arranged by Ptolemy guides us with his indisputable authority up to this epoch, which corresponds to the year B. C. 527. The chronology of the preceding dynasty, the twenty-sixth, has been completely established by the monuments of the tombs of Apis, and differs considerably from that which had been obtained from the lists of Manetho. The first year of the reign of Psammetichus I. corresponds to the ninety-fourth year of the æra of Nabonassar, the Julian year B. C. 654.

"The same monuments here exhibit a sensible difference from the figures of the lists, which allow but a very short interval between Psammetichus I. and Tirhaka last king of the Ethiopian dynasty. An inscription of the tomb of Apis shows that the reign of Tirhaka commenced about the year B. C. 685, though there is an uncertainty of one or two years as to this date. Here the region of exact dates ceases. In ascending beyond this point we want the means of verifying the reigns of the two Sabacos, predecessors of Tirhaka. The numbers furnished by the lists appear too short, and we enter on a system of conjectural corrections for which the monuments do not furnish the necessary elements. We must content ourselves with saying that Bocchoris (twenty-fourth

dynasty) should be placed about B. C. 715; that the commencement of the twenty-third dynasty on the accession of Petubastes ascends to the commencement of the eighth century. Here the possible amount of error has already assumed very large proportions.

"The twenty-second dynasty would furnish us with a very valuable point of comparison and means of rectification, in the circumstance of the taking of Jerusalem by Sheshonk I, if the chronology of the Book of Kings were better defined; but this presents in the series of the kings of Israel and Judah numerous difficulties which have not been satisfactorily cleared up. M. Bunsen has placed the taking of Jerusalem in the year 962; all that a prudent reserve permits us to affirm is, that the duration of the twenty-second dynasty appears on the monuments much longer than the lists of Manetho would lead us to suppose, and that the reign of Sheshonk commenced before the middle of the tenth century.

"For the twenty-first and twenty-second dynasty the inscriptions give but partial dates; we are reduced to these same figures of the lists, which we always find so defective; it appears certain that the duration of the twentieth dynasty has been especially curtailed. The limits of possible error may here easily exceed a century.

"From a calculation made by M. Biot, the heliacal rising of Sothis, mentioned at Thebes in the time of Rameses III. of the twentieth dynasty, occurred towards the commencement of the fourteenth century B. C. This date appears to us to accord admirably with the last epoch we have been able to compute, and with the probable duration of the twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second dynasties.

"The synchronism of Moses with Rameses II. (nineteenth dynasty) so valuable in a historical point of view, throws but a feeble light on the chronology, as the duration of the time of the Judges of Israel is not ascertained with sufficient certainty. We shall be within the limits of probability in

placing Seti I. about the year B. C. 1500, and the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty towards the eighteenth century. But we need not be surprised if this estimate should prove erroneous by 200 years, the historical documents being so corrupt and the monumental so incomplete. We have now arrived at the epoch of the expulsion of the Shepherds; here we cannot undertake even to form any calculation. The texts are not agreed as to the time during which the occupation of Egypt by these terrible guests lasted, and on this point the monuments are mute. All we know is, that the time was long, and that many dynasties succeeded one another before the deliverance.

"We are not better informed as to the duration of the first empire, and we have no reasonable means of measuring the age of the Pyramids, witnesses of the grandeur of the earliest Egyptians. If nevertheless we call to mind that the generations who constructed them are separated from the commencement of our æra, first, by the eighteen centuries of the second Egyptian empire; then by the long period of the Asiatic invasion, and lastly by the many dynasties, numerous and powerful, who have left behind them monuments of their passage; the antiquity of the Pyramids will lose nothing of its majesty in the eyes of the historian, because it cannot be exactly calculated.[48]

65. In this lucid sketch of the subject, M. de Rougé certainly takes a very exaggerated view of Egyptian antiquity. The eighteenth dynasty will find its place not at the commencement of the nineteenth but at that of the sixteenth century B. C. and the period of the Shepherd dominion, hitherto so vastly over-estimated, will be found to reduce itself within the reasonable limits of from two to three centuries. The synchronism of Moses with a king of the

[48] Notice Sommaire des Monuments Egyptiens du Musée du Louvre, par M. le Vic. de Rougé. Paris, 1855.

eighteenth dynasty can, it is believed, be clearly established, and thus a fresh departure for Egyptian chronology, taken from a higher point in the chronological scale than has hitherto been assigned to it. Before entering on this last question it will be necessary to investigate the nature of the great stumbling block in all Egyptian chronology, the character and duration of the so-called Hyksos period.[49]

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[49] Some notice ought perhaps to have been taken of the dates assigned by Mr. Sharpe in his valuable History of Egypt, and other works, to the events of Egyptian history. Mr. Sharpe looks upon Thothmes III. a king of the eighteenth dynasty, as the Menophres mentioned by Theon of Alexandria, and therefore makes the year B. C. 1322, fall in his reign: he also supposes the queen of Thothmes II. to be the same with the king Mencheres, and the queen Nitocris mentioned as the builders of the third pyramid of Gizeh by Manetho and Herodotus. These opinions are founded upon a peculiar mode of reading the hieroglyphical symbols contained in the names of these personages, which, if subjected to criticism at all, would require an examination of the phonetic value of the signs of hieroglyphic writing, a task as much beyond the scope of this work as it would be beyond the ability of its author. With every respect therefore for the known learning of Mr. Sharpe, I have thought it best to pass over the consideration of his dates for the more prominent events in Egyptian history.

## CHAPTER IV.

*The Hyksos Period, and the Shepherd Kings of Egypt.*

1.

HAVING thus ascertained that no system of Egyptian chronology yet proposed is to be relied on, we may proceed to take a general view of the history of Egypt as it is presented in what remains of the work of the historian Manetho.

The list compiled from Manetho's history contains thirty dynasties of kings, named after the cities or provinces to which the founders of the royal houses or families belonged.

2. On analysing this list, and the provincial designations of its dynasties, we are at once struck with the curious alternate arrangement which it presents.

*The Thirty Dynasties of Manetho.*

| Dynasty. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Thinite | Upper Egypt. |
| 2. | Thinite | |
| 3. | Memphite | Lower Egypt. |
| 4. | Memphite | |
| 5. | From Elephantine | Upper Egypt. |
| 6. | Memphite | Lower Egypt. |
| 7. | Memphite | |
| 8. | Memphite | |
| 9. | Heracleopolite | Central Egypt. |
| 10. | Heracleopolite | |

*The Thirty Dynasties of Manetho—continued.*

| Dynasty. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 11. | Diospolite | Upper Egypt. |
| 12. | Diospolite | |
| 13. | Diospolite | |
| 14. | Xoite | Lower Egypt. |
| 15. | Hyksos | Foreigners in Lower Egypt. |
| 16. | Hyksos | |
| 17. | Mixed | Theban in Upper Egypt. Shepherds in Lower Egypt. |
| 18. | Diospolite | Upper Egypt. |
| 19. | Diospolite | |
| 20. | Diospolite | |
| 21. | Tanite | Lower Egypt. |
| 22. | Bubastite | |
| 23. | Tanite | |
| 24. | Saite | |
| 25. | Ethiopian | Foreign. |
| 26. | Saite | Lower Egypt. |
| 27. | Persian | Foreign. |
| 28. | Saite | Lower Egypt. |
| 29. | Mendesian | |
| 30. | Sebennyte | |

We observe that, setting aside the ninth and tenth dynasties of Heracleopolites, who occupy a not very well defined place in the series, these dynasties are arranged down to the end of the twenty-fourth in groups, composed alternately of Upper Egyptian and Lower Egyptian families.

3. Now, whether we suppose that all these dynasties reigned in successive order of time, as represented by Manetho, or that some of them were contemporary, this alternation indicates a constant struggle for supremacy between the several princely houses of Upper and Lower Egypt. The kings of Upper Egypt are all, with one exception, that of Elephantine (setting aside the ante-historical dynasties of the Thinites), Diospolites, or kings of the Thebaid, whose capital was the renowned city of Thebes. The kings of Lower Egypt are first of Memphis, then of Tanis, of Bubastis, of Sais, of Mendes and Sebennytus. This, again, indicates a unity of race in Upper, and the existence of a

mixed race in Lower Egypt. The Hebrew writers called Egypt Mizraim, or the two Mizr; the Egyptians fully recognised the division of the valley of the Nile, from Syene to the Mediterranean, into two countries, the upper and the lower, the south and the north, and the distinction between the two districts has been preserved from the earliest times down to the present day. A difference of dialect attests the presence of two different though kindred races in the valley of the Nile, and the most marked passages in Egyptian history are the civil and religious wars which raged between the two peoples.

4. "There always existed a real duality in the Egyptian empire, a division between the upper and the lower country, which displayed itself in language, in manners, and in sentiment, since the first settlement of the people in the valley of the Nile, and which had never been altogether softened down or obliterated. As this difference existed in the time of Menes, and had its foundations deep in pre-historical times, so we see it outlast the independence of the kingdom, and display itself clearly in the division of the Christian-Coptic language into two dialects, the Sahidic, or Upper Egyptian, and the Memphitic, or Lower Egyptian dialect. The great primæval event in Egyptian history, by means of which the whole nation was elevated to historical consciousness, and thereby for itself and others took up a place in the world's history, was the political union of these two great peoples by the Upper Egyptian Thinite, Menes, who founded the Lower Egyptian city of Memphis on the boundary line of the two kindred races, and thereby established the true metropolis of the united empire in the position of all others the most desirable in a geographical view. Egypt, both as to its configuration and to the distribution of its population, may be likened to a tree whose compact southern stem divides at the point of the Delta in numerous branches, separated by the influx of the bordering nations. The provinces of the Delta, richer in

corn and pasture land, but divided and unfriendly among themselves, stand opposed to the united, and, therefore, more powerful people of the upper country. Hence the Memphite kings were exposed to the double peril of being dispossessed of the northern province by the rising power of some provincial chieftain, if not by the Semitic tribes already spreading themselves over the Delta, or of seeing the south, always inclined to separation, fall away from Memphis and render itself independent, either through its own power or by aid of an Ethiopian alliance. Thus it came to pass that the rulers of Memphis, especially in the new empire, were not themselves of Memphite origin, but belonged by birth to the different provincial cities of the Delta; at other times the sceptre fell into the hands of the northern invaders, such as the Hyksos and the Persians.

"In the south the præ-historical metropolis of This, to which belonged the two first royal families, the first and second Manethonian dynasties, maintained even in historical times a subordinate importance, and certainly served as the royal residence of the sixth Elephantinæan dynasty. With the eleventh dynasty Thebes arose, made itself independent of Memphis, and with the twelfth dynasty obtained the double royalty of the entire country.

"The reaction of the north against the south introduced the neighbouring Hyksos into the land, or at least facilitated that sudden invasion, which for centuries decided the destiny of the country, until again the south, this time assisted by the Ethiopians, and with the aid of the whole of the oppressed country, rose up against them, and placed four Theban dynasties on the throne, who mark out the most brilliant epoch of Egyptian history."[1]

5. This difference between the inhabitants of the upper and lower portions of the Nile valley was not, however, an

[1] Königsbuch, pp. 16, 17.

ethnological difference; that is, it was not a difference of race, properly so called. If the Egyptian people arose from the intermixture of African and Asiatic tribes, if, as Bunsen says, it grew up out of two ethnological elements, the African and the Asiatic, it must have been at a period so remote that we can discern no traces of it.[2] Undoubtedly in historical times the influx of Phœnician or Assyrian settlers made itself strongly perceptible in the Delta, but underneath all these foreign elements lies the Egyptian substratum, which, as far as we can see, is neither African, in the general sense of the word, nor Asiatic.

The sculptures and paintings of Egypt present us with innumerable portraits of the Egyptian people of all ranks and conditions of life, from the very earliest times, probably coæval with the Pyramids, down to that of the Romans. In all, making due allowance for the conventional drawing of the Egyptians, the position and peculiar form of the eye, and the probably exaggerated fulness of the lips, the type throughout is the same, and that type we can only call Egyptian, or a Semitic type with an Egyptian difference. In the features of the kings we observe great differences, indicating the influence of an admixture of foreign blood, which is no more than we should expect among a people where polygamy was the rule, and as we see, also, among the portraits of the queens, women, some of a pure Hebrew, others of a Greek cast.

Thus, among the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, some, like Thothmes I. and Amenoph II, have countenances almost Grecian in outline; the features of Rameses II. are quite European; the profile of his son Menephthah—the supposed Pharaoh of the Exodus—is, but for the fulness of the lips,

[2] Philological traces are said to exist in the ancient Egyptian language.

remarkably regular; and on the whole, the Semitic features of most of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty are very strongly marked.

6. It has been supposed by some writers that the peculiar civilization of Egypt descended the valley of the Nile with the course of the river, from Ethiopia, and that the complicated animal worship of Egypt bore some resemblance to the fetichism of the true African races. Another view, and one that, if well founded, would serve to solve many difficult questions, is that the original Asiatic settlers in Egypt were of two kindred races or families, who had established colonies in the valley of the Nile simultaneously, but advancing in opposite directions. That the Cushites of Northern Arabia, after forming a line of settlements along the shores of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, entered the African continent that way, and founded an empire in Nubia, from thence extending far into Upper Egypt, for all these lands are denominated Cush in the Hebrew Scriptures. Meanwhile, another Hamitic family — the Mizraim — having entered Lower Egypt through the intermediate tract of Eastern and Southern Palestine, ultimately extended their settlements up the Nile.[3] However this may be, it is a necessary consequence of their geographical position that the Semitic element should be more largely developed in Lower than in Upper Egypt, as the wealth and fertility of the Delta must have continually attracted the Phœnician and Idumæan tribes who either peaceably or by force of arms, made for themselves settlements on the many branches of the divided Nile.[4]

7. Another examination of the list of Manetho contained in his first two books, to which alone our attention need be

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[3] Miss Corbaux, in a series of very able and instructive articles on the Canaanitish Rephaim and their connexion with Egyptian history, in Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature, 1851-2.

[4] "In Abydos and Thebes of Upper Egypt, the African element remained predominant, while in Tanis, in Heliopolis, and Memphis, the

directed, shows us a history broken up into four groups of named kings, indicating a continued monarchy, separated by three periods in which no royal names are given. The first of these groups of kings we may term that of the Pyramid-builders; the second, that of the Sesortasides; the third, the Shepherds; and the last, the Diospolite, itself divided into two families—the Thothmessides and the Ramessides.

They are thus arranged:—

| Dynasty. | | | Years. |
|---|---|---|---|
| I.-VI. (inclusive). | Pyramid-builders | | 1484 |
| VII.-XI. | *Blank* | | 783 |
| XII. | Sesortasidæ | | 160 |
| XIII. XIV. | *Blank* | | 637 |
| XV. | Shepherds | | 284 |
| XVI. XVII. | *Blank* | | 669 |
| XVIII. XIX. | Diospolite | Thothmessides<br>Ramessides | 488 |

We naturally inquire, what is the meaning of this break in the line of names? Did these blanks exist in the original history of Manetho because he was unacquainted with the names of the kings omitted from these dynasties, or are they due to the caprice of the compilers of the lists? The monuments, however, disclose a vast number of names of kings not named by Manetho, which must have been entered in the registers of some temples in Egypt, and therefore should have been known to the historian; yet we cannot imagine on what ground Africanus or his predecessor in compilation should have ventured to select any particular set of names in the earlier dynasties for transmission to posterity.

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Asiatic prevailed. Africa and Asia cross each other in Egypt geographically, ethnologically, and historically."—Bunsen, vol. iv. p. 573.

If, however, we look a little more closely into the matter, we find, in fact, that the only Theban kings whose names are mentioned in this list previous to the reign of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, that is, previous to the culmination, and immediately consequent decline of Egyptian grandeur, are precisely those who have left great monuments behind them in Lower Egypt—the twelfth dynasty of the Amenemhas and Sesortasens. The conclusion to be drawn is, that the materials of Manetho's history were taken entirely from Lower Egyptian sources, from the temples of Memphis, Heliopolis, and Sais; that he knew little or nothing of the history of Upper Egypt previous to the time of the twelfth dynasty, or subsequent to it, till the rise of the eighteenth. On no other view can we account for one fact among others—that Manetho should have omitted all mention of the powerful Theban house of the Antefs, who certainly reigned in Upper Egypt before the time of the Sesortasides.

8. Lepsius seems to admit that there must have been two histories of Egypt, one originating at Memphis, the other at Thebes. "Eratosthenes obtained his list from Theban sources. The natural assumption is, that he gives the list of the rulers who reigned in Upper Egypt, and included only those of the Memphite dynasties, who, like the kings of the first and fourth dynasties, reigned also over Upper Egypt, omitting those Memphite kings whose power did not extend to the Thebaid. His list is therefore not a history, but a mere chronological roll.

"As Eratosthenes selected the dynasties of Upper Egypt for the ground of his chronology, so Manetho placed the dynasties of Lower Egypt in the foremost rank, and bound to these the thread of his chronicle, derived from the annals of Memphis and Heliopolis; and he must therefore have excluded from his register all those dynasties which were contemporaneous with the dynasties who ruled at Memphis,

as well those who were invaders or usurpers of foreign extraction, as those who ruled in another part of Egypt at the same time with a Memphite dynasty." [5]

9. The acceptance or rejection of this explanation must depend on the view taken of the contemporaneousness of the dynasties. Manetho's history, in fact, as we have it, is a history of Memphite kings, followed by a royal house of Theban conquerors of Memphis; then the foreign rule of the Shepherds, also conquerors of Memphis; then of Theban kings, conquerors of the Shepherds, and again possessors of Memphis.

If we were to deal with this list of Manetho simply on these grounds, drawn from an examination of the list itself without reference to other sources of information, we should conclude that the kings of the twelfth dynasty were the immediate successors of the sixth, the fifteenth of the twelfth, and the eighteenth of the fifteenth. A closer examination would perhaps lead to the opinion that the kings of the first, second, and perhaps the third dynasties, are not historical, but merely represent the period of Memphite history anterior to the rise of the great Pyramid-building dynasties, and that the fifth, which is said to be "from Elephantine," not, as in the other cases, qualified as Elephantinite, is a different register of some of the kings belonging to the fourth.

Setting aside for the present these last suggestions, this arrangement of the dynasties would stand thus:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. | Kings of Memphis. | V. (?) | Contemporary kings of Upper Egypt. |
| II. | | VII. | |
| III. | | VIII. | |
| IV. | | IX. | |
| VI. | | X. | |
| | | XI. | |

[5] Königsbuch, pp. 17-19.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| XII. Theban conquerors of Memphis. | XIII. | Contemporary kings before the XVIIIth. |
| | XIV. | |
| XV. Foreign conquerors of the Thebans, kings of Memphis. | XVI. | |
| | XVII. | |
| XVIII. Theban conquerors of the foreign kings of Memphis. | | |

10. The opinion that some, if not many, of the thirty dynasties of Manetho, must have reigned contemporaneously in Egypt, is by no means new. It was entertained by Eusebius in the fourth century, and has constantly been propounded in one shape or another by the majority of those who have investigated Egyptian history. It is now universally acknowledged to be true in a general sense, though nearly all authors differ as to which particular dynasties are to be reckoned as contemporary.

Mr. Poole, in 1851,[6] called attention to the evidence which carried this doctrine of contemporary dynasties to a far greater extent than had up to that time been acknowledged. The chronological systems of the latest continental writers on Egyptian history still, however, continue to place in the consecutive series, dynasties which ought apparently to be regarded as contemporary, and therefore placed on one side.

Bunsen, who adopted the list of Eratosthenes as his guide for the duration of the Old Empire, and had therefore to accommodate the thirty-eight kings of that list to the space occupied by the 207 of Manetho, was necessarily led to add to the doctrine of contemporary dynasties, the doctrine of contemporary kings of the same dynasty. The principle which he lays down is that no prince ranked in the annals

[6] Horæ Egyptiacæ. Part ii. History.

from which the chronology was compiled, as an imperial sovereign, unless he were master of the two imperial cities, Memphis and Thebes. Hence Memphite and Theban kings are never met with co-ordinately.[7]

"It is clear that prior to Menes, Egypt, so far from forming a united empire, was divided into numerous provinces, governed, however, by indigenous princes of their own who possessed extensive territory. Can we wonder then that we find, even after Menes, independent dynasties reigning simultaneously? The princely families were the great landowners of the provinces, who called themselves Egyptian kings as often as they had the opportunity; and without doubt their pedigrees all went back to some prominent king, if not a god, who ruled over the land of Egypt.

"It seems that the second and third dynasties lived on terms of amity with each other, and to a certain extent, indeed, shared the imperial sovereignty. Why is such a system of joint sovereignty, or at least the maintenance of amicable relations between two dynasties, both descended from Menes, so impossible, or even improbable? Dynastic independence, on the contrary, based upon that of some thirty ancient houses or provinces, is the original state. And why should there not have been co-regents in Egypt, consisting of members of the same dynasty, as the Cæsars were? And in what country has there ever been a more complete system of provincial government, with ancestral princes and gods of their own, than in Egypt? In the twelfth dynasty twenty-seven nomes existed, and there were certainly not fewer in early times. After the Thinites were established in Memphis, the southern and northern princes, those of the Upper and Lower country, were necessarily allied in marriage with each other and with the royal house. Claims were accordingly set up to imperial

[7] Egypt's Place, &c. vol. ii. p. 205.

titles, if not to the succession to the throne. Under such circumstances is it so unreasonable a supposition that the annals were transmitted by means of royal registers, so constructed as that all the reigns were counted one after the other as co-regents with the reigning sovereign?"[8]

11. We cannot in the present state of our knowledge undertake to deal with the condition of Egypt in the times before Menes. We find sufficient evidence of the contemporaneousness of the so-called dynasties, not only in the earlier times subsequent to the commencement, but down to almost the latest period of Egyptian history; and we find a mass of constantly accumulating evidence to show that Manetho, either through ignorance or through design, paid no attention to the fact that certain dynasties ruled in parts of Egypt contemporaneously with each other.

12. Lepsius lays down the startling proposition, that where the list of Africanus is contradicted by the monuments, it is to be taken as a rule, that the original work of Manetho did not contain such contradictions, but that these have arisen from the corrupt state of the documents.[9]

13. As the original work of Manetho is lost, and all that we have is the compilation of Africanus, it matters little, practically, whether we hold that the original work was altogether faultless, and that the errors now discovered arise solely from the blunders of the copyists. In either case, the conclusion to be drawn from the facts before us is, that the only edition which we possess of the work of Manetho is so unmistakeably erroneous as to even the later dynasties, that the probability of error in the account given of the earlier dynasties of a more remote period, is very great indeed.

14. Another question of considerable importance is the amount of credit due to the headings given to the different dynasties in the list.

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[8] Egypt's Place, vol. ii. p. 184.

[9] Königsbuch, p. 8.

For instance, the fifth dynasty is stated in the list of Africanus, to consist of nine kings "from Elephantine," and the sixth of five kings "from the Memphites." Eusebius, on the other hand, in his version of these two dynasties, has either committed a series of blunders or has drawn from some other sources than Africanus. He calls the kings of the fifth dynasty, thirty-one in number, Elephantine, but gives none of the names in Africanus' fifth dynasty, inserting instead two names of kings of the sixth dynasty, while for the sixth dynasty he gives only the names of Nitokris. Eusebius, therefore, in fact omits altogether the fifth dynasty of Africanus. Now, according to the interpretation put by Bunsen on the names in Eratosthenes, the list of this latter has also omitted all names of the fifth Manethonian dynasty. But if the heading of Africanus is right, "from Elephantine," this is precisely the dynasty which Eratosthenes ought to have inserted, for kings ruling at Elephantine must necessarily have ruled at Thebes. Bunsen therefore imagines that what he calls the "imperial succession" was carried on at Memphis, and that in the Theban documents from which the list of Eratosthenes was drawn, the Theban scribes had very properly registered the *de jure* line of kings at Memphis, instead of the *de facto* kings at Elephantine, who were contemporary with them.

Lepsius on the other hand infers[10] that as the list of Eratosthenes was a Theban list, the dynasty which has been omitted in that list must have been a Memphite, and not an Elephantinæan dynasty, an opinion confirmed by the fact that the names of the two last kings of the fifth dynasty, *Tatcheres* and *Ounas*, have certainly been found in the tombs in the neighbourhood of Memphis. This latter piece of evidence Bunsen explains by the very improbable suggestion of a joint imperial reign, and an equal right to the

[10] Königsbuch, p. 29.

necropolis around the two imperial cities, Thebes and Memphis. It is said that the monuments unmistakeably show that the fifth dynasty reigned at Memphis, while the sixth were ruling in Upper Egypt. The appearance in Manetho's list of these kings of Upper Egypt is accounted for by the fact that to this sixth dynasty belong the renowned king Phiops or Apappus, and the celebrated queen Nitokris, whose fame had already been spread abroad by Herodotus. These could not be omitted from any list, but their erroneous insertion gave rise to the idea that they were Memphite sovereigns, and caused their true title of Elephantinæans to be transferred to the fifth, which was in fact the true Memphite contemporaneous dynasty.[11]

15. All these ingenious attempts to overcome the difficulties presented by the contradiction which exists between the statement of Manetho and the evidence of the monuments, serve only to place that contradiction in a stronger light. It is evident that but little reliance can be placed on the headings or titles given to the several dynasties; an observation supported by the difference existing in this respect between the list of Manetho and the Old Chronicle.

This is of some importance when we come to consider the

[11] Königsbuch, p. 20. The presence in Lower Egypt of a dynasty of kings termed Elephantinite, from Elephantine, south of Thebes, before the rise of the Theban power, is an unexplained anomaly. For whether we agree with Africanus that the fifth or with Lepsius that the sixth dynasty was from Elephantine, the result is the same. Kings of the fifth dynasty whom Africanus calls Elephantinite, are noticed on the Memphite monuments, and certainly were connected with that city, probably as provincial kings in Lower Egypt; while Manetho and the Greek traditions connect the kings of the sixth dynasty with the Arsinoite nome, and the pyramid field of Memphis. There is, therefore, in all probability some mistake in the Greek translation of the Egyptian record, and it has been suggested that if these kings of the fifth dynasty of Africanus originated from Heliopolis they might have been described as from the Eastern bank; the word "Abt" signifying both "East" and "an Elephant," and is the name of Elephantine. See Egyptian Chronicles, p. 140.

period of Egyptian history which has proved a stumbling-block to all the writers on Egyptian chronology, the Hyksos period.

16. It has been already mentioned that Egyptian history has been divided into three great periods: the Old Empire, the Middle Empire, and the New. The Middle Empire corresponds to the period during which it is supposed that Egypt was under the dominion of a foreign race of Phœnician or Arabic extraction, called the Shepherds, or Hyksos. The length of this intervening period has been very differently estimated. According to

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| Africanus, it lasted . . . . . | 953 years. |
| Josephus . . . . . | 511 years. |
| Eusebius' version of Manetho . . | 103 years. |

Modern writers vary in their choice of these numbers:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Bunsen allows for it . . . . . | 922 years. |
| Lepsius . . . . . | 511 years. |
| Brugsch . . . . . | 511 years. |
| Poole . . . . . about | 550 years. |

17. One remarkable circumstance connected with this period of foreign rule meets us on the very threshold of the investigation. It is generally believed that the Hyksos period commenced at the close of the twelfth and ended with the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty.[12]

The monuments left by the kings of the twelfth dynasty are in the highest style of Egyptian art. A fragment of a colossal statue of Sesortasen I. in black granite is con-

[12] Dr. Brugsch, Histoire d'Egypte, interposes the thirteenth dynasty with a duration of 453 years between the twelfth dynasty and the Shepherds, but does not account for the absence of the names in Manetho, or the want of great monuments for that long period. Mr. Poole, Horæ Egyptiacæ, makes the Shepherds succeed immediately to the sixth dynasty, but the known existence and extensive sway of the powerful twelfth dynasty is an insuperable obstacle to this view.

sidered to indicate an artistic ability equal to anything known in the history of Egyptian art.[13] The engraved inscriptions in intaglio of this period have not been surpassed at any epoch. The obelisks of Heliopolis and the Fayoum, indicate the existence of temples of a grandeur and magnificence corresponding to these beautiful remains of the twelfth dynasty. We know, in fact, that the labyrinth of the Fayoum, one of the wonders of the world, was constructed by one of the kings of this dynasty. The invasion of the Hyksos is supposed to have been the cause of the destruction of the temples and palaces of the period which preceded their advent, and no great monuments of the time during which they occupied Egypt have been discovered. But with the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, and especially with Thothmes III. the fifth king of that dynasty, Egyptian art, after a death of either five or nine centuries, rises anew, if not to an equal state of perfection with that of the twelfth dynasty, still to a state not very far short of it.

As it was in art so it was in language, in religion, manners, customs, arms, agriculture, and manufactures. These five or nine centuries of the Shepherd rule, have absolutely left no trace of their passage. The monuments bear no record of them. The great kings of the nineteenth dynasty, when they register the line of the kings of Egypt, pass over these centuries without notice; and we have the remarkable fact of an empire whose duration was nearly as long as that of the Romans, planting itself firmly on the soil of the most monumental people the world has ever seen, and leaving behind them no monuments of their existence.

In fact, as Bunsen observes, at the end of this period, which is longer perhaps than the duration of the historical life of most modern peoples, the old Egyptian Empire comes

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[13] M. de Rougé, Notice Sommaire des Mon. Egypt. du Musée du Louvre, p. 26.

forth again in renovated youth, and as the monuments prove, with its national peculiarities, its religion, its language, its writing, its art, in precisely the same condition as if no interruption had occurred, or, at most, nothing beyond the temporary inroad of some Bedouin robbers.[14] We may well plead guilty of the crime denounced by M. Bunsen,[15] of standing aghast before an array of centuries about which there is little or nothing to relate. Dr. Hincks has even gone farther, and denied the existence of the Hyksos period altogether. "The age of the twelfth dynasty," he says, "includes the monuments of Amenemha I. and his successors to the end of that dynasty. I should make a separate class for the monuments of the 'Middle Empire' of Chev. Bunsen if I knew of any such, or if I saw any reasonable grounds for believing that this supposed interval between the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties really existed."

18. Later researches have shown that an interval does exist between these dynasties, but of very different proportions from those assigned to it by the supporters of the Hyksos theory.

The time allowed by Bunsen for the duration of the Hyksos period is 929 years. The mode in which this supposed period is made up is very instructive. It consists in reckoning after Manetho:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Fifteenth dynasty of 6 named kings . . | 260 years. |
| Sixteenth, of 32 unnamed kings . . . . | 518 years. |
| Seventeenth, of 43 unnamed kings . . . | 151 years. |
| | 929 |

or eighty-one kings in 929 years, of whom the six whose names are given reign more than a fourth of the whole period, with an average of forty-three years to each reign,

[14] Egypt's Place, vol. ii. p. 418. [15] Id. vol. ii. p. 416.

leaving for the remaining seventy-five an average of nine years to each reign.

This cannot be history. Even if with Lepsius we take the time given by Josephus as from Manetho, we have six named kings with a period of 260 years, and an unknown number with 251 years.

19. In fact, however, neither five nor nine centuries give the measure allowed by Manetho for the Hyksos period, that is, the time intervening between the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties; for the duration of the thirteenth dynasty, 453 years, and that of the fourteenth, 184 years, are to be added, making a total of 1590 years, for which period Manetho gives us the names of six foreign Shepherd kings, but not one of native origin, and during which no great public monuments, such as temples, palaces, or obelisks, were erected. Even if the fourteenth dynasty of Xoites be rejected as contemporary with unnamed Theban kings, the Hyksos period still reaches over more than fourteen centuries, an enormous period of time in any history, even of Egyptians, unsatisfactorily filled up by six names, and rare and meagre indications of Egyptian life moving on in the same form and direction as at any and all periods of Egyptian history.

20. Until very lately the only source of our information respecting this Hyksos invasion and dominion, has been the extract preserved by Josephus from the history of Manetho; for the indications contained in Herodotus and Diodorus, have been either misinterpreted or altogether overlooked.

21. The history of the invasion of Egypt by the Shepherds, which Josephus professes to give as an extract from the historical work of Manetho, is as follows:—

"We had a king named Timaios; under him, I know not why, the gods were displeased, and, on a sudden, men from the parts towards the east, of an ignoble race, taking courage, marched over the land, and easily obtained possession of it without a battle, making the rulers thereof tributary to them, burning the cities and destroying the temples of the gods. They used the natives in a most brutal manner, some they put to death, others they reduced to slavery with their wives and children.

"After a time they made one of themselves king, Salatis by name. He established himself at Memphis, took tribute from the upper and lower country, and placed garrisons in the most suitable places. He fortified especially the eastern frontier, foreseeing that the Assyrians, whose power was then at its height, would attempt to get possession of the kingdom; and having found a city conveniently situated for his purpose in the Saitic nome, on the eastern side of the river of Bubastes, which from some ancient theological reason was called Avaris, he made a settlement there; and, having strongly fortified it, placed in it a garrison of 240,000 heavy armed soldiers. There he held his residence in the summer, partly for the purpose of giving to his people their pay and provisions, and partly for the purpose of exercising his troops so as to strike terror into foreigners.

"These six, who were their first rulers, were continually at war, desiring to destroy Egypt to the root."

Up to this point Manetho, if the extract be genuine, has not said that these people were *shepherds*, or *foreigners*, or *Phœnicians*; merely that they were "men of ignoble race from the parts towards the east."

Then follows the statement that,

"Altogether this people was called Uksos, which means 'Shepherd Kings,' for *Uk*, in the sacred tongue, signifies a king, and *Sōs*, in the common dialect, is a 'shepherd, and 'shepherds,' and so being put together becomes *Uksos*.

"In another writing it is said that *Uk* does not signify kings, but, on the contrary, signifies 'shepherd prisoners of war;' for *Uk*, or *Ak*, in Egyptian, spoken roughly, means 'prisoners of war,' and this seems to me more likely and more in conformity with ancient history."

Josephus continues—

"The above-mentioned kings, called Shepherds, and their posterity, ruled over Egypt, *it is said*, 511 years. After this, the kings of the Thebaid and of the rest of Egypt, he says, revolted against the Shepherds, and a great and long-protracted war ensued. Under a king named *Misphragmouthosis*, the Shepherds were defeated, driven by him out of all the rest of Egypt, and shut up in a place 10,000 arouras in circumference, called Avaris, which, Manetho says, the Shepherds had surrounded with a vast and strong wall as a place of security for their property and plunder. Thouthmosis, the son of Misphragmouthosis, laid siege to this fortress with an army of 480,000 men, and attempted to take it by force, but, at length breaking up the siege, entered into a treaty with them, that they should leave Egypt and depart without molestation whither they chose. These accordingly, in accordance with this treaty, departed from Egypt with their families and all their possessions, in numbers not

less than 240,000 persons, and took the way of the Desert towards Syria; but fearing the power of the Assyrians, who then ruled in Asia, built a city in the country which is now called Judæa, large enough to contain so many thousands of men, which they called Jerusalem."

22. The list of the Hyksos kings given by Josephus, in his extract from Manetho, differs slightly from the list supposed to have been extracted by Africanus from the same work.

*Fifteenth dynasty of Shepherds.*

| Africanus. | | Josephus. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| There were six foreign Phœnician kings who took Memphis, and built a city in the Sethroite nome, setting out from which they subdued the Egyptians, the first of whom was— | | | | |
| | Yrs. | | Yrs. | M. |
| 1. Saites, from whom the Saite nome had its name, reigned | 19 | 1. Salatis reigned . . . | 19 | 0 |
| 2. Bnon . . . . . | 44 | 2. Bnon . . . . . | 44 | 0 |
| 3. Pachnan . . . . . | 61 | 3. Apachnas . . . . | 36 | 7 |
| 4. Staan . . . . . | 50 | 4. Apophis . . . . . | 61 | 0 |
| 5. Archles . . . . . | 49 | 5. Jannas . . . . . | 50 | 1 |
| 6. Aphobis . . . . . | 61 | 6. Assis . . . . . | 49 | 2 |
| | 284 | | 259 | 10 |

23. We shall hereafter return to the consideration of these names, but will first endeavour to ascertain what evidence the Egyptian monuments contain as to the duration of the Hyksos period.

If we take as a fixed point for viewing this chasm of centuries in Egyptian history the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty, and examine the evidence which connects the one side with the other, the kings of the eighteenth with the kings of the twelfth dynasty, we shall obtain the following results:—

The immediate predecessor of Aahmes, first king of the eighteenth dynasty, is known with certainty, from the inscription in the tomb of Aahmes the admiral, to have been the

king Skennen-ra.[16] Skennen-ra is known from the statement in the Historical Sallier Papyrus to have been a king of the south, while Apophis, the Shepherd king, was ruling in the north of Egypt. This one fact at once reduces the Hyksos period to, at the most, the 284 years assigned by Africanus to the fifteenth, the first of his Shepherd dynasties. The plain undeniable evidence of this document to the contemporaneous rule of Skennen-ra and Apophis is, however, set aside by the advocates of the longer period, who hold by the truth of Manetho's dynasties of unnamed kings, and have, therefore, invented a second Apophis, who is supposed to have lived from two to six centuries later, in order to bring his epoch down to the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty.

24. Whatever may have been the duration of the Hyksos period, the official inscriptions on the monuments which represent the succession of the later Egyptian kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, ignore that period altogether. The Tablet of Abydos, a list of names of kings, executed in the fourteenth century B.C. represents the first king of the eighteenth dynasty as the immediate successor of the last king of the twelfth.

25. *The monumental evidence, therefore, strictly construed, shows no interval at all between the last king of the twelfth and the first of the eighteenth dynasty,* and is consistent with the belief that the Hyksos kings, whatever may have been the duration of their rule, were contemporary with the kings of the twelfth dynasty. The evidence that this was not so is derived from the traditions of this period related by Manetho, and we must, therefore, endeavour to ascertain what that historian has really said upon the subject.

26. In the first place he says that the invasion took place

[16] Mémoire sur l'Inscription du Tombeau d'Aahmes, par M. de Rougé. Paris, 1851.

in the reign of a king named *Timaios*. Bunsen suggests that the name should be Amuntimaios, some copyist having transformed the first part of the name into ἡμῖν—Ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν Τίμαιος, instead of Amuntimaios. Then, as the last king in Erastosthenes is called Amonthartaios, the names are supposed to be the same.

27. The Book of Sothis states that the last king before the Tanite dynasty of the Shepherd kings was Koncharis. Now the prænomen of Amenemha IV. reads Ra-ti-maou, and there is another unplaced king of the same period, whose prænomen shows that he belongs to the Amenemhas, and whose proper name is Kencher.[17] It is probable, therefore, that Manetho and the Book of Sothis are both right, the one giving the prænomen, the other the proper name, of two different kings who were reigning at the time of the Hyksos invasion.

28. Manetho states that the Hyksos ruled in Egypt 511 years; but he also states that they commenced by fortifying a place called Avaris in which they placed a garrison of 240,000 men, and that, being afraid of the power of the Assyrians, they particularly fortified the eastern parts of Egypt; that at the end of 511 years, they were besieged in Avaris by exactly double their number, or 480,000 men, and departed from Avaris exactly the same number as the original garrison, or 240,000 men, and being afraid of the Assyrians, who were now, as they had been 511 years before, the chief power in the east, they turned aside, entered Palestine, and built the city of Jerusalem.

29. Josephus says, that Manetho called these people Hyksos, and gave two derivations of the name, wavering between "Royal Shepherds" and "Captive Shepherds." Africanus, who is also supposed to have derived his information from Manetho, does not mention the Hyksos by name, but

[17] Lepsius, Auswahl, pl. x.; Königsbuch, pl. xiii.

calls them Phœnician Shepherds. Aahmes the admiral, who actually fought at the siege of Avaris under king Aahmes, says nothing of either Shepherds or Hyksos, and the Historical Papyrus, which records the message of the king Apophis to Skennen-ra, equally ignores the name. But Aahmes the admiral differs entirely from Manetho in his account of the affair; he says that king Aahmes took the fortress of Avaris, from which he (the admiral) brought away three captives; and that king Aahmes afterwards took the city of Sarouhan in Canaan,[18] and that the people who were then slain by the king, were not Hyksos, but the "Mena"—Asiatic shepherds.

30. Who, then, were the Hyksos? A people who lived in Egypt from five hundred to a thousand years should have left some trace to tell us who they were. According to M. Bunsen, "no one is justified in considering the Hyksos either to be Scythians or Babylonians, as his fancy may suggest. The Egyptians have told us who they were, and no one has a right to set up his own notions in opposition to them."[19] Unfortunately, the Egyptians *have not told us* who they were, and the moderns are wholly unable to agree in their views respecting them.

31. In fact, the most contradictory opinions as to these Hyksos, have been put forward by those who have attempted to investigate their history upon the basis of the few words respecting them preserved in Josephus.

"In investigating the early history of the world," says one writer, "the Hyksos cross our path like a mighty shadow, advancing from native seats to which it baffled the geography of antiquity to assign a fixed position, covering for a season the shores of the Mediterranean and the banks of the Nile with the terror of their arms and the renown of

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[18] Joshua xix. 6. [19] Egypt's Place, &c. vol. ii. p. 421.

their conquests; and at length vanishing with a mystery equal to that of their first appearance."[20]

Mr. Gliddon, after explaining how and why during their sojourn at Memphis, if, as he says, they were there at all, the Hyksos broke open and desecrated the Pyramids, which brought about a change in the mode of burial, offers the following comment on the above fancy sketch:—"Later investigations have rather increased than removed my difficulties; and as a mere matter of argument, it would be indifferent to me to sustain that the Hyksos once occupied Lower Egypt, or that *they were never there at all*, as others besides myself have suspected.[21] The latter view might result from a rigid inquiry into the validity of the historical sources; the total absence of direct allusion to the Hyksos in the hieroglyphics, and the necessity of interposing an immeasurable hiatus between the royal names, No. 39 and 40 in the Tablet of Abydos." "The time for the duration of the Hyksos dominion seems to me to be quite problematical."[22]

32. The name Hyksos is unknown from the monuments. It has been suggested that it represents the name of the Shas-ou, a people who constantly appear throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties as the enemies of the Egyptians. According to Dr. Brugsch, "the word 'Shasou' is Egyptian, and signifies primitively, to travel, pass, march, having probably an intimate connexion with the Coptic word 'sōs,' a shepherd." Then "hak" signifies a chief; and Dr. Brugsch considers the words "hak Shasou" king of the Shasou, or "hakou Shasou," kings of the Shasou, as the only possible prototype of the Hyksos of Manetho.

It is certainly an objection to this view that Aahmes

[20] Mrs. Gray's History of Etruria, vol. i. p. 26.

[21] Dr. Hincks On the Letters of the Hieroglyphic Alphabet, Trans. Roy. Ir. Acad. vol. xxi. part 2, p. 35.

[22] Gliddon, Otia Egyptiaca, p. 44.

Penseben, a military chief who served under king Aahmes, his son Amenoph I, and the first and second Thothmes, has stated in the relation of his foreign campaigns under the latter king, that he took many captives from the Shasou, apparently in the land of Naharaina, without seeming to be aware that this people had been ruling, and were then living in Lower Egypt.[23]

If Manetho knew that his fifteenth dynasty consisted of kings of the tribes of the Shasou—the historical Semitic adversaries of the Egyptian empire—it is very remarkable that he did not describe them as such.

Miss Corbaux has identified the Shasou of the Egyptian monuments with the Zuzim[24] of Scripture, and has very ingeniously suggested that the names of Og, king of Bashan, and Ag-ag of the Amalekites, represent the Huk or Hak of Manetho. But those Zuzim were a numerous and warlike nation; "a people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakim."[25] They were anything but nomadic shepherds; they were dwellers in fortified cities, of which the territory of Argob in Bashan alone contained "threescore cities, all fenced with high walls, gates, and bars, besides unwalled towns a great many."[26] Dr. Brugsch looks upon the Shasou as wild, uncivilized Arabs, the dwellers in the wilderness of Arabia Petræa; wandering nomads, whose eastern limits stretched as far as the Euphrates and the Tigris.[27] If, however, the Hyksos were nomadic Arabs, how could Manetho have called them Phœnicians? if they were Zuz-im of Bashan, how could he have said that the entire nation was called Hyksos, and that this word meant Royal Shepherds and Captive Shepherds? The name of the Shasou appears on the monuments as the constant adversaries of the Egyptians, from the commencement of the eighteenth to, at least, the

[23] Birch, in Trans. Roy. Soc. of Lit. new series, vol. ii. p. 324.
[24] Gen. xiv. 5. Deut. ii. 20. [25] Deut. ii. 21. [26] Deut. iii. 4.
[27] Geographische Inschrift. b. ii. p. 53.

close of the nineteenth dynasty, and was employed as late as the Roman times to signify enemies in general. Manetho, therefore, could have been at no loss to identify them.

M. Lenormant, on the other hand, has lately repeated the suggestion that the Shasou were, as Dr. Hincks also supposed, a Scythian race, identical with the Sacæ of the Behistun inscription, a people whose principal tribe inhabited Sogdiana, towards the Caspian Sea.[28]

"It is," says Professor Rawlinson, "not easy to determine what race of people the Hyksos were; and they have been variously pronounced to be Assyrians, Scythians, Cushites (or Ethiopians) of Asia, Phœnicians, or Arabians. Manetho calls them 'Phœnicians,'[29] and shows them not to have been from Assyria, where, he says, they took precautions against 'the increasing power of the Assyrians;' and the character of 'Shepherds' accords far better with that of the people of Arabia. Indeed, the name Hyksos may be translated Shepherd or Arab kings; *hyk* being the common title 'king' or 'ruler,' given even to the Pharaohs on the monuments, and *shos* signifying 'Shepherd,' or answering to *Shaso*, 'Arabs.' How any of the Arabians had sufficient power to invade and obtain a footing in Egypt, it is difficult to explain; but it is well known that a people from Arabia called *Phœnicians*, or the *red* race, who were originally settled on the Persian Gulf, invaded Syria and took possession of the coast; and similar successes may have afterwards attended the invasion of Egypt, especially if aided by the alliance of some of its princes."[30]

33. These Shasou, who are said to have reigned in Egypt from five to nine centuries—one of whose kings built a splendid temple to the god Sutesh, and whose name has been found engraved on a statue at Tanis, qualified with the title of

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[28] Trans. Roy. Soc. of Lit. new series, vol. vi. p. 53.

[29] That is, Africanus calls them so; Manetho, as given by Josephus, does not.

[30] Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 298.

"beneficent god, son of the sun," the same title as that given to the great Sesortasen, are found again on the monuments of the nineteenth dynasty, as little Egyptian in appearance as though they had never seen the valley of the Nile. During the many centuries they had mixed with Egyptian civilization, dwelt in Egyptian cities, and worshipped Egyptian gods, they appear to have learned nothing, and to have forgotten nothing. Dwellers in cities for 500 or 1500 years, they became nomadic Arabs again immediately on their expulsion.

34. Let us for a moment consider such a space of time as 500 years in human history. In the history of Rome it takes us back from the time of Augustus to that of Tarquin. It includes the whole history of the Roman people from the commencement of the Republic to its termination. For Greece, it includes very nearly the whole history of art, poetry, philosophy, and arms, from Lycurgus of Sparta to Alexander of Macedon. In this period of 500 years, some eighteen generations of men must have lived and died upon the Egyptian soil. It is not possible they could have continued to be the barbarous savages and destroyers they are described in the commencement. Surrounded by Egyptian art and civilization—and what that must have been at the commencement of this period, the grottoes of Benihassan inform us—subjected to softening and civilizing influences, they must in that long course of time have become Egyptianized themselves. All history teaches us that it must have been so. Is it then conceivable that at the end of this period they should have quitted Egypt, and carried with them no trace of their residence in that wondrous land, no lessons in architecture, in art, or religion; no tradition of their migrations, no recollections of their sovereignty?

The case of the Hebrew people is entirely different. They never were as a nation settled in Egypt. Their territory lay to the east of the Nile, and their occupation as shepherds and herdsmen kept them in a great measure apart from the in-

fluence of Egyptian feelings and modes of thought, from which, however, their history shows them to have been by no means free.

But the Hyksos were rulers of Memphis, and their power reached as far as Thebes itself. However bitter the animosity, however strong their hatred to the Egyptians, both at the commencement and at the close of their career, they could not have divested themselves of all that had become natural to them in the course of so many generations, and have deposited themselves again in Palestine or Arabia, a pure Phœnician or Arabian race, such as they had departed 500 years before. Such a history is contradicted by nature and experience, and must be untrue.

35. "Without the testimony of Manetho," says Mr. Kenrick, "we should have been wholly ignorant of this most important event (the Hyksos invasion) in the history of Egypt. The Scriptural writers certainly attribute a connexion with Egypt to the Philistines, who in Amos ix. 7 are spoken of as an immigrant people like the Israelites themselves; and the name, though confined in the Bible to a small district, was used for the whole country, which thence derived the name of Palestine. The account given by Apollodorus, that Egyptus, the son of Belus, brother of Agenor, king of Phœnicia, came from Arabia, unhistorical as it is, may have had its origin in the invasion of the Hyksos, who are called both Phœnicians and Arabians, and who settled in Palestine on their expulsion from Egypt. The connexion of the myth of Isis, Osiris, and Typhon, with Phœnicia, of the Tyrian with the Egyptian Hercules, and generally of Phœnician with Egyptian civilization, will be best explained by the supposition that the nomad tribes of Palestine were masters of Egypt for several generations, and subsequently returned to the same country, carrying with them the knowledge of letters and arts, which they were the means of diffusing over Asia Minor and Greece. Phœnicia has evidently been the

connecting link between these countries and Egypt, which directly can have exercised only a very slight and transient influence upon them." [31]

36. These observations do not, however, apply to the Hyksos of Manetho. The connexion between Egypt and Phœnicia is of a far more ancient date than the epoch assigned by the Egyptian historian to the Hyksos invasion. The kings of the fourth dynasty, the builders of the Pyramids, were already masters of the Sinaitic peninsula, and therefore in close connexion with the Semitic tribes of Southern Canaan and Idumæa. Tradition ascribes Asiatic conquests to one of the great monarchs of the twelfth dynasty; and the representations in the tombs at Benihassan demonstrate that in their time Asiatic tribes had already sought and obtained entrance to the fertile valley of the Nile. The connexion, which is obvious, between the religious myths of Egypt and Phœnicia, dates back to a period more remote than the Hyksos of Manetho, though the fables which bear the stamp of a cosmogonic, or perhaps a purely historic character, such as those relating to Isis, Osiris, and Typhon, may be of later introduction.

37. The passage in Herodotus which has been supposed to prove that the Egyptians had preserved down to the time of the Greek historian, the tradition of the occupation of Lower Egypt by a race of Philistine shepherds, has been thought to refer to the Hyksos period. Herodotus however applies the tradition, as it must have been applied by his informants, to the builders of the Pyramids, and it is difficult to see how they could have been confounded by his Egyptian informants with a race of kings who, according to the interpretation put on Manetho's tradition, not only built nothing themselves, but were chiefly employed in destroying the buildings erected by the native kings who had preceded them.

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[31] Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, vol. i. p. 191.

It may be, however, that the name which Herodotus heard was that of the first of the Tanite kings, called Salatis by Josephus, and Silites in the Book of Sothis, and the difference between Philition or Philites, and Psilites, may be an error in transcription, or an error in sound.

The traditional hatred of the Memphite Egyptians for the memory of the Pyramid-building kings, may have been transferred in time to the dynasty under whom the worship of the chief gods of Memphis was treated with an impious disrespect, and the emoluments of their priesthood transferred to the servants of Typhon. The Greek Egyptian interpreter of Herodotus may have erroneously given the old reproachful epithet applied to these kings, *shōs*, the meaning of shepherd. Herodotus, however, distinctly refers this traditional expression of hatred to the kings who built the Pyramids, the then subject of his observations, and gives not the slightest intimation that his informants were referring to the rule of a foreign race of conquerors of a period later by centuries than the builders of those monuments. If indeed, as Mr. Palmer supposes, the Shepherd kings ruled in Egypt contemporaneously with the Pyramid-builders of the fourth dynasty, the tradition which connected Philitis or Silites with the Pyramids would receive a ready explanation; but it seems impossible, from the little we know of Egyptian history for these early times, to assent to that proposition. It is probable that there is a foundation which lies deeper in Egyptian history than we have yet been able to reach, which connects the impiety and oppression of the Pyramid-building kings with the attempt made, and for a time successfully, by the Tanite kings, to elevate the worship of Sutesh or Typhon above that of the gods venerated by the rest of Egypt.

38. Ewald, in his "History of the People of Israel,"[32] sees

[32] Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus, von Heinrich Ewald. Göttingen, 1851.

in the Hyksos, a Phœnician people, and indeed Hebrews, not in the ordinary meaning of that term, "Children of Israel," but in a much wider sense. The names of the Hyksos kings he thinks, are purely Semitic, and altogether different in character from those of the Egyptian monarchs named in the list of Manetho. Abaris, the fortified city of the Hyksos, is nothing else than "the Hebrew camp, the fortress of the Heberim."

The name *Hebrew*, he says, originally comprised a more numerous and widely spread people than that of the sons of Jacob. The Hebrew traditions bring this people from Arphaxad, *i. e.* Arrapachitis, which means "the stronghold of the Chaldæans," and was without doubt, in the most northern parts of Assyria and on the southern boundary of Armenia. It was from Ur of the Chaldees, Ur Chasdim, the same with Arphaxad, that Abraham migrated into Palestine. The tradition which makes Eber a son of Arphaxad points out the connexion of the Hebrews with this primæval land of the race from which they sprung. This name of *Hebrew* belongs to the very oldest times of the history of this people, long before the branch which called itself Israel, had risen into power. As in Gen. xiv. 13, Abraham is expressly called "the Hebrew," we see that the Hebrew name was already widely extended. It included not only all those who with Abraham had come over the Euphrates, but also another powerful Hebrew branch, who, under the name of Joktan, the second son of Eber, migrated into southern Arabia, and there established a flourishing kingdom.

The name "*Arab*" itself, which since the eighth century has been applied to all the nations of the vast Arabian territory, is very probably derived from the same old appellation of *Hebrew* from which it slightly differs, the more especially, as many of the ancient tribes of northern Arabia clearly occupy a position of near relationship to Abraham.

39. Which of these Hebrew nations in particular is repre-

sented by the Hyksos of Manetho, Ewald thinks cannot be exactly determined. "They could not," he says, "have been of that later migration, which in the time of Joseph first entered Egypt, nor can we associate their long and mighty rule in Egypt with the tradition of the visit of Abraham to that land. For Abraham, though, in the later Hebrew relations, he appears as the great ancestor of all the Hebrew tribes in and around Canaan, is represented in the earliest accounts,[33] only as an individual powerful chief among others of a similar description."

"The Hyksos, therefore, must have been a people consisting of numerous tribes more or less powerful, who had a common origin with the Hebrews, and joined them in their common migration to the south; some of whom advanced as far as Egypt, while others maintained themselves in Canaan and the neighbouring lands; of whose numberless wanderings backwards and forwards, scarcely a single recollection has been preserved, and amongst whom Abraham was only one among a number of princes and warriors.

"So also the Midianites and Kenites, who are represented as aiding Moses in his efforts to free the children of Israel from the yoke of Egypt, may themselves according to the account of Manetho have belonged to those Hyksos, who had once been expelled from Egypt, and may on that account the more readily have afforded assistance to Moses. It cannot be without a reason, that the oldest tradition gives to Ishmael an Egyptian mother and an Egyptian wife, and describes him as dwelling close upon the borders of Egypt.[34]

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[33] Genesis xiv.

[34] Gen. xvi. 3; xxi. 1; xxv. 18. Suppose the reason should be, that it was a fact. If there is one thing more probable than another, it is, that Egyptian women should have been sold as slaves in Canaan, and that an Arab chief on the borders of Egypt should have possessed himself of an Egyptian wife. It may be a myth, but it looks very like a genuine tradition of a fact.

"The Arabian traditions also ascribe to their nation an ancient conquest of Egypt. The Amalekites are the Arabian people generally referred to by this tradition; sometimes the tribe of *Ad*, a very ancient people whose name is not to be found in the Old Testament. These traditions come down to us from the Mahommedan writers, mixed up with notices and opinions derived from the Hebrew Scriptures. It cannot, however, be denied, that a tradition of an ancient Arabian conquest and long enduring sovereignty in Egypt, may have been preserved by the Arabians down to the time of Mahommed. Manetho, it is true, made the observation, that 'some say the Hyksos were Arabs,' but it is not likely that all the Arabian traditions can have been derived from that source.

"We must also add, that a very early and violent movement took place among the nations from the north towards Egypt, in which Abraham, though only an insignificant chieftain, was involved; which drove the nations who inhabited the country afterwards called Northern Arabia, in masses upon Egypt, and to these last we can give no other name than that of Hyksos. And thence, in fact, shines forth the first ray of light upon the dark and obscure condition of the ancient world; and we see that the first uprising of the Assyrian power must have driven the Hebrews forward to the south; when mixed with the original tribes of Palestine and of northern Arabia, they entered Egypt, where they founded the kingdom of the Hyksos."

40. These opinions of the great Göttingen professor, however valuable for Egyptian ethnology, are of little aid in the rectification of Egyptian chronology. We see the advent of the Hyksos kings of Manetho thrown back into ages of prehistorical antiquity, and mixed up with the commotions and migrations of the nations of northern Assyria, in a period whose remoteness it is impossible to compute. The dates which so many writers have sought to extract from the

Hebrew narratives, and to apply to the Mosaic and ante-Mosaic times of Egyptian history, are altogether cast aside. "For, as Abraham represents that earliest general stock of the Hebraic race, who, driven or wandering from their primæval home in the northern mountain land of the Chaldees, crossed the Euphrates and the Jordan, and ultimately settled in south-western Canaan; so Jacob-Israel, the twice-named chieftain, represents a similar migration of the individual nation of the Hebrews, whose twelve tribes had already long before their settlement in Egypt, been formed partly from the old Hebraic stock settled from earlier times in the land of Canaan (whence Jacob is represented as grandson of Abraham), partly of a foreign non-Hebraic race.

"Joseph, the representative of the northern branch of this race, the renowned ancestor of the two great tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, who, at an earlier period than the influx of the children of Israel into Egypt, had been driven out of Canaan by the kindred tribes, and forced upon the Egyptian territory, made for himself a great position in that land; and ultimately, the other tribes descended from the common stock of Jacob-Israel, were brought down from Canaan, attracted by the fame of the great Hebrew-Egyptian tribe, or invited by them to share in the wealth and abundance of the fertile Goshen."[35]

"This earlier and lesser branch of the Hebrew race was settled in Egypt while the Hyksos ruled the land. The harsh treatment which, according to the old legend, was experienced by Joseph, and his imprisonment by Pharaoh, before he had risen into power and attracted all Israel to him, point out that this lesser branch of the Hebrew race fell into hostilities with their kindred Hyksos, and thence into danger and peril; a circumstance which explains itself on the supposition that, during the expulsion of the Hyksos,

[35] Geschichte, p. 518.

the Hebrew tribe had allied itself with the Egyptian king; that their chief, Joseph, rendered eminent service to Pharaoh and the land, by calling in the older and stronger portion of the tribes of Israel, and placing them on the eastern frontier of Egypt. For just as the Romans, in the time as well of their conquests as of their embarrassments, willingly employed German against German, so nothing could be more desirable for the new Egyptian dynasty at the time of the expulsion of the Hyksos, than the employment of a yet untampered-with, warlike Hebrew race, against the other. The war with the Hyksos, who, though driven back towards the east, yet lay upon the frontier of the land, seeking opportunities for a fresh invasion, must, as the Egyptian monumental representations of similar combats demonstrate, have been of long duration. And as the civilization of Europe defended itself by a military frontier against the Turk, so may Joseph, with the approbation and by the direction of the Egyptian king, have called in the whole of the tribes of Israel from Canaan, and settled them in Goshen as a frontier guard against any renewed attacks of the Hyksos."[36]

41. According to these views of Ewald, then, the Hyksos were a mixed conglomeration of Semitic tribes, partly consisting of that old Abrahamic Hebrew race, who in the earliest times had migrated from Ur of the Chaldees, Arphaxad, and the borders of Armenia; partly of Kenites and Midianites, kindred to the last; and partly of Amalekites, Ishmaelites, and other tribes of northern Arabia who were themselves also of the same original kindred race. While this wave of nations, driven forward by the rising tide of the Assyrian monarchy, and the conquests of these mighty sons of Nimrod, rose against and overleaped the barrier of the Egyptian frontier, that portion of the Hebraic stock afterwards denominated the Children of Israel, were sojourning

[36] Geschichte, pp. 419, 420.

in the land of Canaan. Of these, one portion, centuries after the commencement of the Hyksos rule, passed into Egypt, and arraying themselves under the name of Joseph, on the side of the Egyptian monarch against their kindred Hyksos, received as the price or the reward of their assistance the frontier land of Goshen, on which also they afterwards settled the remainder of their tribes, called in as allies or mercenaries under the name of Jacob.

The Hyksos of Manetho, therefore, were Hebrews, but not *the* Hebrews of the Hebrew narrative; descendants of Abraham, but not the sons of Jacob. But in the tumult of this mighty commingling of hostile but kindred tribes, this swaying backward and forward of the nations, the individual Hyksos of Manetho, whose advent and whose exit have been calculated by Lepsius to the very year, are altogether lost. The dynasty of Lepsius is trampled out by the legions of Ewald.

42. All the opinions on the subject of the Hyksos are necessarily founded on the statement made by Manetho in regard to them, preserved in the extract quoted by Josephus, and in the list of dynasties compiled from Manetho's history by Africanus; and as the account of what Manetho said on this subject varies in Africanus and Josephus, we may conclude that there is some confusion of persons or events. Now the Book of Sothis and the Old Chronicle both describe these Shepherd kings as a dynasty of *Tanites*. On this point "these wholly valueless impostures, the so-called Old Chronicle and the pseudo-Manetho of the Dog-star,"[37] have certainly drawn from better sources of information than Manetho. For Tanis, the Hebrew Zoan, was the city of these kings, which, under the name of Avaris, they are represented as having so strongly fortified. The chief deity of this city was Sutesh, the Phœnician Baal, called afterwards by the

[37] Bunsen, vol. i. p. 233.

Greeks Typhon. But this god Sutesh was certainly not introduced by the Hyksos of Manetho, since one of the five intercalary days was dedicated to him at a much earlier period. Nor was he a foreign deity, for his worship never attained a greater height than in the time of Thothmes III. of the eighteenth, and of the Ramesside house of the nineteenth dynasty. He was peculiarly the god of Tanis, and he is styled "the god Sutesh of Avaris," "Sutesh, the lord of the city of Avaris."

43. Manetho, as we have seen, represents the Hyksos as foreign robbers, destroying the temples and slaughtering the natives of the country; but the Historical Papyrus gives a very different account of the matter.

"It came to pass, when the land of Egypt was held by the revolters, enemies (*aad-t-ou*) there was no king (*i.e.* of the whole of Egypt). In the day when king Skennen-ra was Hak of the land of the south, the *aad-t-ou* were in the city of the Sun (Heliopolis); the chief Apepi was in Avaris. The whole land was tributary to him, serving him with all the productions of the north (Lower Egypt). The king Apepi set up Sutesh for his lord, and worshipped no other god in the whole land . . . he built him a temple of durable workmanship. It came to pass that while he rose up (to celebrate) a day of dedicating . . . a temple to Sutesh, the prince (of the south) prepared to build a temple to the Sun over against it (in rivalry with it). Then it came to pass that king Apepi desired to . . . king Skennen-ra . . . the prince of the south. It came to pass a long time after this . . .

[*Four lines obliterated.*]

. . . with him in case of his not consenting (to worship) all the gods which are in the whole land, (and to honour) Amun-ra, king of the gods. It came to pass many days after these things, that king Apepi sent a message to the king of the south. The messenger (being gone) he called his wise men together to inform them. Then the messenger of king Apepi (journeyed) to the chief of the south. (When he was arrived) he stood in the presence of the chief of the south, who said to him this saying, viz. to the messenger of king Apepi, What message dost thou bring to the south country? For what cause hast thou set out on this expedition? Then the messenger answered him, "King Apepi sends to thee, saying, he is about to go to the fountain of the cattle, which is in the region of the south, seeing that . . . has commissioned me to search day and night. . . . The chief of the south replied to him, that he would do nothing hostile to him. The fact was, he did not know how to

send back (refuse) . . . the messenger of king Apepi. (Then the prince of the south) said to him, Behold, thy lord promised to . . .

[*Four lines obliterated.*]

. . . Then the chief of the south called together the princes and great men, likewise all the officers and heads of . . . and he told them all the history of the words of the message sent to him by king Apepi, before them (or according to order). Then they cried with one voice, in anger, they did not wish to return a good answer but a hostile one. King Apepi sent to . . . "[38]

44. This fragment displays to our view the princes or kings of the south, that is, Upper Egypt, in the time of Skennen-ra, the predecessor of Aahmes, not tributary, but independent. The first cause of dispute mentioned is a religious one; the Theban kings demand of those of Lower Egypt to worship all the gods, and especially Amun-ra, the Theban deity, and apparently some threat is offered in case of refusal. They prepare to build a temple to their Sun-god in opposition to that built in honour of Sutesh, and in express rivalry with it. We have here, therefore, a display of that hostility between Upper and Lower Egypt which always prevailed more or less in the valley of the Nile.

45. Of this period, it is generally considered that Herodotus obtained but a single and indistinct glimpse, not furnished him apparently by the priests, but by the memory of the people, that tradition which represented the Pyramids as the work of the Shepherd Philition.[39] But there is a portion of Herodotus' history of Egypt which appears to refer to this period, and though the account which he has given of it is slight, and mixed up with matters belonging to a later date, it is worthy of more attention than it has received. He says, that after queen Nitokris (of Manetho's sixth dynasty) other kings reigned, of whom nothing remarkable was recorded, except of the last of these, Mœris; "but he accomplished some

[38] Mr. Goodwin's translation, in Bunsen's Egypt, vol. iv. p. 672. Brugsch, Geographische Inschr. b. i. p. 51; and Brugsch, Histoire d'Egypte, p. 78.

[39] Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 63.

memorable works, as the portal of Vulcan's temple, facing the north wind; and dug a lake, the dimensions of which I shall describe hereafter, and built pyramids in it, the size of which I shall also mention when I come to speak of the lake itself."[40] Here Herodotus is speaking of the kings of the twelfth dynasty.

The king who came after them was Sesostris. The notices which Herodotus obtained of this king from the priests, prove that he is the Sesostris of the twelfth dynasty of Manetho. The Asiatic conquests attributed to him are probably erroneously transferred from the later Sethos of the nineteenth dynasty; but the reference to the conquest of Ethiopia is proved by the monuments, and that to the canalization of Egypt by the great works of irrigation executed by the twelfth dynasty, and indirectly by the scrupulous attention which the monuments show these kings to have directed to the annual measurement of the rise of the Nile.

After the death of Sesostris, his son Pheron succeeded to the kingdom. He undertook no military expedition, was struck with blindness as a punishment for impiety, and cured in a remarkable manner through the intervention of an oracle. "Having escaped from this calamity, he dedicated other offerings throughout all the celebrated temples, and what is most worthy of mention, he dedicated to the *temple of the Sun*—works worthy of admiration—*two stone obelisks*, each consisting of one stone, and each a hundred cubits in length, and eight cubits in breadth.

Diodorus in his account of this same period, says that Sesoosis—the Sesostris of Herodotus—was deprived of his sight, and committed suicide; and attributes to him the erection of two obelisks, each 120 cubits high.

He then relates of the son of this Sesoosis, to whom he gives the same name, the story which Herodotus related concerning Pheron, the son of Sesostris.

[40] Herod. ii. c. 101.

Now we know that the Sesostris, Sesortasen I. of the twelfth dynasty, erected two obelisks at Heliopolis, the city of the Sun, in honour of the sun-god Atosem, since one of them, of red granite—the most ancient obelisk in Egypt—still remains, and displays, carved deep in its sides, the name of Sesortasen I.

In the list of Eratosthenes, a king "Phrouoro, who is also called Nileus," succeeds immediately after the known kings of the twelfth dynasty. He therefore occupies the place assigned by Herodotus and Diodorus to Pheron, the son of Sesostris, and must undoubtedly be considered to be identical with him. It is clear, therefore, that up to this point the traditions collected by both the Greek writers are traditions of the twelfth dynasty.

Herodotus proceeds: "They say that a native of Memphis succeeded him (Pheron) in the kingdom, whose name in the Grecian language is *Proteus*. There is to this day an inclosure sacred to him at Memphis, which is very beautiful and richly adorned, situated to the south side of the temple of Vulcan. Tyrian Phœnicians dwell around this inclosure, and the whole tract is called the Tyrian camp. In this inclosure of Proteus is a temple which is called after the foreign Venus; and I conjecture that this is the temple of Helen, the daughter of Tyndarus, both because I have heard that Helen lived with Proteus, and also because it is named from the foreign Venus; for of all the other temples of Venus, none is anywhere called by the name of foreign."[41]

We know that Herodotus was right in his facts, and wrong in his conjecture; that there was at Memphis a temple dedicated to the goddess Astarte, or Ashtoreth, the Venus of the Phœnicians.[42]

[41] Id. vol. ii. c. 112.

[42] Brugsch has published an inscription of the time of the twentieth dynasty, in which mention is made of a priest attached to the temple of the goddess Astarte, mistress of both worlds. Recueil des Monuments Egypt. pl. iv. The Egyptians called the same goddess Baste. Ib.

46. Diodorus, in the parallel passage, after speaking of Mendes, called by others Marros, who built the Labyrinth as his own burial-place, and who is the Mœris of Herodotus, says that after this king a period of anarchy ensued, which lasted during five generations, when the Egyptians elected a king taken from the lower class of citizens; his name was *Ketes*, and he was said to be the Proteus of the Greeks, who lived at the time of the Trojan war. As both Herodotus and Diodorus place the Pyramid-builders eight generations after Proteus, their chronological opinions on the date of the Trojan war are not of much value.

47. If we turn to the Book of Sothis, we find that the sixth and the last king of the dynasty which Manetho calls the Hyksos, or Shepherds, but which here is styled Tanite, is called Κήρτως; and the first king of the next dynasty, the eighteenth, the immediate predecessor of Aahmes, is Ἀσήθ.

This Proteus-Ketes-Kērtos is clearly represented by the king of the Shepherd dynasty, called by Josephus *Iannes*, and by Africanus *Staan*, each with a fifty years' reign; and the Staan of Africanus is probably meant for Set-aan. The name Iannes is no doubt the same with that of the Phœnician fish-god OANNES, the Dag-on of the Canaanites, called at Ascalon, according to Diodorus, Dercētes, and there worshipped under a female form—half woman, half fish. The name of Iannas of this Hyksos dynasty must therefore be the same as that given by Herodotus in the Greek form of Proteus, the sea-god, and by Diodorus in a Phœnician form Kētes. This name the Egyptians represented in hieroglyphics by the figure of a fish, *Aan*. But though this name has an undoubted Phœnician aspect, it was not Phœnician in the sense of a foreign name newly introduced by a foreign people. On the contrary, it had been borne by at least one highly venerated monarch of the Pyramid-building epoch, is seen among the names of the Chamber of Karnac, and on a statue of a king of this name, dedicated to his memory by Sesor-

tasen I. The name was also attributed by the Rabbinical traditions to one of the magicians who contended with Moses.[43]

The time which Diodorus assigns to the period of anarchy which closed with the election of Ketes = Iannes, is from five to six generations, or about 150 to 180 years.

48. The Egyptian priests gave Herodotus a history of some of the events of the Trojan war, and of the adventures of Helen, Paris, and Menelaus, unknown to Homer and the Greeks, asserting, in fact, that Helen never was at Troy at all, but remained with Proteus in Egypt until she was restored by the Egyptian king to Menelaus;[44] a circumstance which Herodotus thought very probable, on the ground that if she had been in Troy, the Trojans would have delivered her up to the Greeks rather than undergo the siege.[45]

On the ground that Proteus was a contemporary of Paris and Menelaus, M. Bunsen imagines that he must be a king of Manetho's nineteenth dynasty. Dicæarchus, in the third century B. C. who was therefore acquainted with the writings of Herodotus, had computed the reign of king Nileus to be 436 years before the first Olympiad; *i.e.* about B. C. 1212. But Nileus was also an ancient king from whom the river Nile received its name, a son of Oceanus and Thetis, father of Memphis and Chione, according to the Greek theologers. The thirteenth century B. C. is rather late for

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[43] Jannes and Jambres or Mambres; the latter is, no doubt, Mai-emphre, beloved of the Sun. Bochart, Geogr. Sacra, p. 326.

[44] The priests also said that Paris and Helen, driven by contrary winds from the Ægean Sea to the Canopian mouth of the Nile, were there received by *Thonis*, a governor of that district under *Proteus*. This Thonis is evidently a Phœnician name; the Hebrew *Thonim*, a whale, tunny, or sea-monster, is equivalent to the Greek Cētes.

[45] "The priests were willing, in order to flatter their Greek allies, to bend their history into accordance with the mythology of the Hellenic race, and submitted even to manufacture a monarch (Proteus) for the express purpose of accommodating their inquisitive friends."—Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 63.

the reign of this personage.[46] Bunsen, however, considers him the same with the Thuoris of Manetho's nineteenth dynasty, and identifies their two names by the following process:—

Diodorus called Proteus Keten; then Kheten = Khetna, Khetna = Set-nekht, and Set-nekht, who is also Merri-ra, "must be the king called by the Egyptians Nilus, *i. e.* Pheron, or something like it."[47] For Thuoris must be Phuoris, and Phuoris = Pheron, and Pheron = Proteus-Ketes, &c.

It is true that "Herodotus says that Proteus was a Memphite, which was a mistake, because the king of Egypt at that time must have been a Theban;"[48] but this is a matter of no importance. "It certainly," says the same learned writer, "was not quite accurate on the part of Herodotus to call Pheron-Phuoris-Nileus the son and immediate successor of the great Sesostris, for he was Menephtha, but his son's name was Sethos. Phuoris-Pheron, *therefore*, was the third successor of Rameses the Great, and probably was only a distant connexion of that family."[49]

And now Brugsch thinks it probable that the name Thuoris of Manetho, on which all this reasoning is founded, represents a queen Ta-ouser-Thousiris, the wife of Siphtha.[50]

49. It is strange that M. Bunsen should in this instance have rejected the testimony of Eratosthenes, whom he had chosen as his guide for the period of the Old Empire; for the Theban list, as we have mentioned, places this king Nileus in his proper position in the series immediately after the Sesortasides of the twelfth dynasty, under the name of "Phrouoro, who is *Neilos*."

It is not possible that the Greeks should have imagined that the flight of Danaus and Cadmus, and the foundation of Bœotian Thebes, synchronized with the siege of Troy; these

[46] According to a tradition preserved by Diogenes Laertius, Neileus was the father of Hephaistos, or Phtha, the eternal Demiurgus.

[47] Egypt, &c. vol. iii. p. 230.

[48] Id. vol. iii. p. 228.

[49] Id. vol. iii. p. 231.

[50] Histoire d'Egypte, p. 179.

legends, referred to the time of the nineteenth dynasty, owing to the confusion which attended the name of Sesostris, really belong to a much older cycle of Egyptian tradition.

50. This synchronism of the Egyptian Proteus with the Trojan war, hangs upon the name of Proteus by which the Greeks interpreted the name written with the symbol of the fish. Then with the name of Proteus came the recollection of the story of the Odyssey, which connects the adventures of Menelaus with the sea-god Proteus on the Egyptian shore, and of the health-giving drugs imparted to Helen by "Thone's imperial wife."[51] A story of the Trojan war told in Egypt in the time of Herodotus, savours of a Greek not of an Egyptian origin.

51. It by no means follows, because some of these Hyksos kings may have Phœnician names, and worshipped Phœnician deities, that they should have been invaders of Egypt from beyond the Egyptian frontier. It would be difficult to say whether Sutesh of Tanis, Nit of Sais, and Pasht of Bubastis, in the Delta, were more Egyptian than Phœnician, or more Phœnician than Egyptian; but certainly they were not introduced into Egypt at so late a period as the epoch of the Shepherd dynasties of Manetho.

52. The Egyptian Delta was, at all times within the historical period, and probably earlier still, occupied by settlers whose Asiatic connexions were very strongly developed. The city of Bubastis in particular gave rise to a dynasty, the twenty-second, whose kings (of whom Sheshonk the con-

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[51] In the Odyssey, Book iv. it is Thonis who is the king of Lower Egypt:—

> "These drugs so friendly to the joys of life
> Bright Helen learned of Thone's imperial wife,
> Who swayed the sceptre, where prolific Nile
> With various simples clothes the fattened soil;"

while Proteus is not a king, but the prophetic sea-god whom Menelaus compels to disclose the decrees of fate.

queror of Rehoboam is the chief), bear names which are non-Egyptian, and of Asiatic, probably Assyrian origin [52] The local goddess of this city, Pasht, is represented on the monuments of the Ramessides among the conquered enemies of the Theban kings, in company with the Shasou, Shairetana, and other tribes of Asiatic origin.[53] Lepsius has remarked that the names given in the Book of Genesis to the sons of Mizraim, the Ludim, Anamim, Lehabim, Naphtahim, Patrusim, Casluhim, Philistim, and Caphtorim, represent tribes inhabiting for the most part the Delta of Egypt, who can be held to belong to the same original race with the Egyptians proper, only in the sense of the oracle mentioned by Herodotus, that all who drank of the waters of the Nile were to be be considered Egyptians.[54]

The population of the Delta was notoriously a very mixed one. While the inhabitants of the cities and villages on the eastern branches of the Nile which bordered on the Arabian desert, were in communication with the Asiatic tribes of Arabia, Idumæa, and Palestine, and acted upon especially by the influence of the Mesopotamian powers, Sais, the capital of the western portion of the Delta, lay towards the Libyan borders, and was in like manner in close connexion with the Libyan tribes, equally foreign and hostile to Upper Egypt as the eastern Semitic peoples. Thus at a late period of Egyptian history, Sais gave rise to a dynasty of kings whose names proclaim their extraction to have been different from that of the pure Egyptian race. These are the Psammetichi of the twenty-sixth dynasty, who, in opposition to all Egyptian ideas and feelings, made use of Greek mercenary

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[52] Lepsius, Ueber die XXVI. Egyptischen Königs Dynastie, &c. Berlin, 1856.

[53] Wilkinson's Manners and Customs. Second Series, vol. i. p. 384, plate.

[54] Lepsius, Ueber, &c.

soldiers, and encouraged Greek commerce on the waters of the Nile.[55]

53. It has been thought that the names of the Hyksos kings recorded by Josephus are of Semitic origin, and thus support the opinion that these were of Arab or Phœnician race. Ewald says that the name of the first king Salatis is purely Semitic, and compares it with the word Shalith, a governor.[56]

The names of all the other kings of this dynasty are, however, Egyptian.[57] *Baion*, as the Book of Sothis more correctly gives the *Bnon* of Africanus, *Apachnas*, *Set-aan*, or *Iannas*, *Assa*, or *Asseth*, and *Apophis*, are certainly so. We cannot but be struck with the circumstance that the most celebrated and only historically known kings of this dynasty, *Iaan* and *Apophis*, actually bear the names of two ancient kings of great repute, of the Pyramid-building epoch. These are Lower Egyptian names, borne by kings of Tanis in Lower Egypt. The name of the second of those kings in Josephus and Africanus, is given in the Book of Sothis as *Baion*, and we see that when a Tanite dynasty again rises into power on the decadence of the house of Rameses, the name of Bai-en-tet appears in the prænomen of the first king of that (the twenty-first) dynasty. Menephtha also, the son of Rameses II, who was an especial worshipper of Sutesh of Avaris, bears in his prænomen the title of Bai-en-ra.

54. The more this subject is examined the more evident does it appear that this so-called Shepherd invasion was not

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[55] Lepsius, Ueber, &c.

[56] Genesis xlii. 6. Ewald also considers the name of the sixth king in Josephus, Assis, to be the same with the Hebrew "Aziz," the mighty one; the same name as that of a king of Emessa mentioned by Josephus in his Antiquities of the Jews. Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i. p. 502, &c.

[57] Bunsen says "these names are of course Arabic." Lepsius abandons Africanus for the Armenian text of Eusebius, and writes Banon, Apachman, Anan, Aseth. Egypt, &c. vol. iv. p. 514.

a foreign conquest at all, but a revolution, the chief leaders and actors in which sprang from the lower orders of the Egyptians of the Delta, but very probably largely mixed up with and aided by Phœnician and Libyan settlers, and roving bands of the desert, ready allies either for pay or plunder.

55. The etymology of the word Hyksos affords a striking confirmation of this opinion.

The Coptic word *shosh* has a double meaning. It means "a shepherd," and also "vile, contemptible, base." It was probably thus applied in a secondary sense to herdsmen and shepherds who belonged to the lower castes of Egyptians, or derived the secondary offensive sense from the occupation. The word Hyk-sos, then, taken in the plural form in which Manetho uses it, means "kings of base origin," "vile kings," corresponding exactly with the term he had before employed for the "men from the east" "of base origin."

But it also means, he says, shepherds, either "Shepherd kings" or "Shepherd captives," and this latter meaning, Josephus informs us, he adopted exclusively in another portion of his writings. We may conclude then, that the term Hyksos as used by Manetho, comprehends two classes of persons, kings of a base origin, the Tanite kings, and the Shepherds, whom he represents in two places as "captives" or "captive Shepherds."

56. The writer of the Historical Papyrus, calls the people of whom Apophis was king by the name Aad-t-ou. This term, translated "revolters," appears to be a general term of reproach or evil signification. It is said to be found in the great funeral ritual of the Egyptians, the Book of the Dead,[58] as the appellation of certain evil genii, or avengers, who beset the path of the soul in the celestial regions. This popular term for the enemies of the Amun-worshippers may have

[58] Mr. Heath's Exodus Papyri, p. 102.

given rise to the Arabic (Mahomedan) traditions which were evidently derived from Coptic sources, that the pyramids were built by the Adites or descendants of Sheddad Ben Ad. But the Papyrus gives no indication of a national or foreign name as belonging to these Aad-t-ou; and the epithet of "rebels," or "revolters," is a remarkable one to be applied to a race of foreign conquerors who had been masters of Egypt during a period of five hundred to a thousand years. The legend of the Sallier Papyrus is older than the history of Manetho by some nine or ten centuries, and the absence of the term Hyksos in the former, in a history especially relating to these transactions, is strong evidence of the later origin of that appellation, and of its having the same general meaning as the appellation Aad-t-ou, a term of reproach signifying base or ignoble kings, and not kings of a well known people described on the monuments under their national or tribe name of Shasou.

57. Africanus gives the name of the first Hyksos king as Saites, and remarks that from him the Saite nome had its name. This no doubt is an error, but it indicates the existence of a tradition which connects the name of the leader of this revolution with that of the Egyptian god Set, the local deity of Tanis.

Herodotus says that Proteus = Iannas was "a man of Memphis;" Diodorus, that the Egyptians "elected a king taken from the lower class of citizens, whose name was Ketes = Proteus = Iannes;" Manetho in Josephus says that the invaders were "of a base origin;" the Historical Papyrus indicates that the kings of Upper Egypt and those of Lower Egypt were at variance on a point of religious worship; in all we see indications of a political and religious revolution in which Lower Egypt threw off the Theban yoke, and the supremacy of the Theban gods, imposed upon it by the Theban conquerors of the house of Sesortasen.

We see the same indication in the list of Manetho, whose

fourteenth dynasty of seventy-six kings, with a duration of 184 years, are styled Xoites, from a nome in the very northern extremity of the Delta. According to Lepsius' chronology these Xoites are the immediate successors of the twelfth dynasty, and therefore the overthrowers of the Theban power. But they are also made contemporary with the Hyksos, and amongst these Xoites of the Delta Lepsius places the Amuntimaios or Amenemes (with a Theban name) of Manetho.

58. The very announcement of a Xoite dynasty in the Delta as the successors of the Sesortasides, marks a revolution in which Lower Egypt again asserts her independence of the Theban metropolis, and again renders Upper Egypt tributary as she had been in the time of the earlier Memphite kings; and the traditions collected by the Greek historians agree with the statement of Manetho, that this was a social as well as a political and religious revolution, which placed upon the throne of Lower Egypt not a member of an ancient royal house, or one of the chiefs of the hierarchy, but a man of Memphis, or a king elected from among the lower orders, a family of base origin, who placed the worship of the popular local deity on a higher footing than the time-honoured gods of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis.

59. This opinion, that the revolution in Lower Egypt, which Manetho has confounded with the traditions of another and a later religious war, was, in fact, not a war between foreign invaders and the Egyptian people, but a war of Lower against Upper Egypt, is further strengthened by facts connected with the history of the country at that period. The Historical Papyrus mentions the rivalry between the worshippers of Amun under Skennen-ra, in the Thebaid, and those of Sutesh under Apophis in the Delta. Now the religion of Amun-ra, "the occult or hidden god," the especial divinity of Thebes, was as old as the twelfth dynasty, who had founded the cell or νάος of the great

Temple of Amun at Thebes. But the worship of Amun does not occur earlier, and he appears as an intruder into the religious system of the gods Osiris, Phtha, and Anubis of the earlier kings.[59]

These remarks of Mr. Birch furnish a key to the history of this period. The worship of Amun introduced into the Delta by the conquering Theban kings of the twelfth dynasty, was an innovation on the older religious doctrines of Lower Egypt, and was rejected and persecuted by the Lower Egyptian kings who overthrew the Theban power. Such a revolution and its consequent wars, massacres, and impieties, is quite sufficient to account for the devastations and cruelties mentioned by Manetho, without the intervention of a race of foreign conquerors.

60. The duration of this sovereignty of the Tanite kings of the Delta was given by Manetho according to Josephus, as 511 years. But we know that it terminated soon after the reign of the fourth king mentioned by Josephus, the last of Africanus, Apophis, who was contemporary with Skennen-ra and Aahmes. The Hyksos period is therefore to be measured by the reigns of their six kings, amounting altogether, according to the extract from Manetho by Josephus, to 260 years.

61. The average of the reigns of the six kings mentioned by Josephus, forty-three years, is evidently too high; and as Africanus gives even a larger average of forty-seven years each, it is probable that some names have been omitted.

The Old Chronicle allots twelve kings to two dynasties in 293 years:—

| | |
|---|---|
| The sixteenth dynasty of Tanites, eight kings, reigned . . . . . | 190 years. |
| The seventeenth dynasty of Memphites, four kings . . . . . | 103 years. |
| | 293 |

[59] Mr. Birch, On a Remarkable Object of the reign of Amenophis III. Archæol. Journal, vol. viii. p. 405.

Eusebius, who followed the Old Chronicle to a considerable extent, and was aware from some other source than Manetho, that Aahmes and the eighteenth dynasty immediately succeeded Apophis, thought that these four Memphite kings represented the Shepherd dynasty, and therefore classed them as follows:—

Sixteenth dynasty of five Theban kings . 190 years.

Seventeenth dynasty of Shepherds, who were Phœnician brothers, foreign kings who took Memphis,

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|---|---|
| 1. Saites reigned . . . . . | 19 years. |
| 2. Bnon reigned . . . . . | 40 years. |
| 3. Archles reigned . . . . . | 30 years. |
| 4. Apophis reigned . . . . | 14 years. |
| | 103 |

In which he has probably altered the years of the reigns, and omitted two kings, to bring out the total of 103 years. But Eusebius mistook the nature of the Old Chronicle, which, like all other Egyptian lists, is not a chronological but a dynastic register, in which the different ruling houses overlap one another, as may be seen in the case of the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth dynasties.

The sixteenth dynasty of the Old Chronicle is called Tanite, because the first chiefs of the revolution resided at Tanis and were inscribed in the temple registers of that city. But when these Tanite kings took Memphis and established their rule there, they were also inscribed as kings in the temple register at Memphis. The seventeenth dynasty of the Old Chronicle must also be one of Tanite kings, who were also entitled Memphites, as reigning in that city. Allowing for the case of a double registration at the commencement of the Memphite dynasty, we may reasonably accept the sum given by Manetho in Josephus for the duration of the dynasty, 260 years. The twelve kings of the Old Chronicle would then have average reigns of 21½ years,

which is more probable than the average of the six kings of Manetho.

62. When we come to sum up the evidence in support of the opinion that the Hyksos were a foreign race, Phœnician or Arab, we find it amount to this:—

i. A statement made by Africanus, but not found in Manetho according to Josephus, that they were Phœnicians.

ii. A statement made by Josephus, which does not appear to have been taken from Manetho, that "some say they were Arabs."

iii. An inference drawn from the statement of Manetho, that "men of ignoble birth or extraction," ἄνθρωποι τὸ γένος ἄσημοι, "came from the parts towards the east."

iv. An inference drawn from the supposed resemblance between the words Hyk-sos, Shasou, and Zuzim.

63. On the other hand, the monuments show that the kings called by Africanus Shepherd kings, dwelt in Avaris or Tanis; and the Old Chronicle and the Book of Sothis call them Tanites. The charge which Syncellus made against Eusebius, and which has been so frequently repeated by modern writers,[60] of having invented one dynasty and falsified others, to suit his own chronological views, is quite futile. We now know that Eusebius was right in placing the Shepherd dynasty in a position immediately preceding the eighteenth, and that he was also right in making Apophis contemporary with the first king of the latter dynasty. So far from the Old Chronicle having borrowed from Eusebius, as Böckh and Letronne supposed, it is clear that Eusebius has made use of the Old Chronicle, and that Syncellus was right in attributing to this document a great reputation among the Egyptians, and an antiquity higher than the time of Manetho, whom he considered to have been led astray by it.

64. The Christian chronologers, who are supposed to have

[60] Egypt, &c. vol. ii. p. 438.

invented the Book of Sothis and the Old Chronicle, in the third or fourth century of the Christian æra, must either have been remarkably fortunate in devising a dynastic appellation for these kings, not found in Manetho, or they must have obtained it from some genuine Egyptian sources of information; because it turns out to be true, that these were Tanite kings. It is true that these kings may possibly have been of a foreign race, registered as Tanite kings in the temple registers of Tanis. But as there is no sufficient evidence that they were foreigners, we must accept the statement that they were Tanites, and as truly Egyptian as the kings of the Memphite dynasties who preceded them. We must in short consider the Middle Empire of Bunsen as a mere illusion beyond the extent of 260 or at most 293 years, and that the Tanite dynasty of Lower Egypt followed naturally on the breaking down of the Upper Egyptian power under the weak monarchs who succeeded the great conquerors and legislators of the Sesortaside dynasty.

65. Although the kings whom Africanus terms Phœnician Shepherds, were in truth Tanite kings of Lower Egypt, and not necessarily Phœnicians or foreigners, it is evident that there was mixed up with their history, a tradition relating to a Shepherd people who had been expelled from Egypt, and who were something different from the Tanite worshippers of Sutesh who became kings in Memphis.

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[61] Egypt, &c. vol. ii. p. 438.

## CHAPTER V.

*The Egyptian Traditions of the Exodus.*

1.

THE Egyptian monuments afford no positive or direct evidence of the events which preceded or accompanied the Exodus of the Israelites, though popular traditions of the Egyptians relating to the expulsion of a foreign people from Egypt have been preserved. Which of these traditions relates to the Hebrew Exodus, may in some measure be determined by the greater correspondence in the one than in the other, with the account of the Exodus given in the Hebrew narrative of that event.

2. According to this narrative, Joseph, a younger son of Jacob, patriarch of the Hebrews, was sold by his brethren to Midianite merchants then on their way to Egypt. In Egypt he was sold to Potiphar, an officer in the household of Pharaoh, and ultimately placed in a situation of great power and authority. At his request his father and his eleven brethren, with their children, servants, flocks, and herds, settled in Egypt, where they were permitted to occupy the land of Goshen, and to pursue their occupation of shepherds and herdsmen. Here they continued in the favour and under the protection of the Egyptian authorities until after the death of Joseph, the favourite and minister of Pharaoh.

After the death of Joseph "and all that generation," "there arose up a new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph." The Hebrews were now reduced to bondage, and condemned to labour as brickmakers and builders, and in all manner of service in the field. Moses, of the tribe of Levi, a Hebrew who had been brought up by a daughter of Pharaoh, commissioned to deliver his people from their bondage, having gathered together the elders of the children of Israel, and informed them of their approaching deliverance, demanded of Pharaoh liberty to depart from Egypt. After a series of miraculous events, which spread terror and desolation through Egypt, and a series of negociations with Pharaoh, the Exodus took place, Pharaoh and his people both being urgent with the Hebrews that they should depart, taking with them their flocks and herds, and the gold, silver, and raiment which they had obtained from the Egyptians. Their departure was a hurried one; they were thrust out of Egypt, and could not tarry; and they journeyed from Rameses, one of the cities which they had built for Pharaoh.

3. Such, in brief, is the Hebrew account of the Exodus. We now turn to what is said to be the Egyptian account of the same event.

Josephus, in his answer to Apion, after citing the history given by Manetho of the expulsion of the Hyksos, relates a further account given by the same Manetho:—

"'A certain king, Amenophis, desired to become a beholder of the gods, like Horus, one of his predecessors. He communicated his desire to one Amenophis, son of Paapis, who, on account of his wisdom and penetration into futurity, was believed to partake of the divine nature. This namesake of Amenophis told him, that if he cleansed the whole country of the LEPERS and other unclean people, he would then be able to behold the gods. The king, thereby rejoiced, collected together all who were smitten with this bodily disease, throughout the whole of Egypt—80,000 in number—and cast them into the stone quarries, which are situated east of the Nile, in order that they should there work apart from the other Egyptians. Among them were some learned priests who had been attacked by the leprosy. But that wise and prophesying Amenophis began to fear the anger of the gods, for himself as well as

for the king, if they, the priests, were seen at such compulsory labour; and he foretold, moreover, that others would hasten to the assistance of the unclean, and would govern Egypt for thirteen years. He did not, however, venture to express this to the king, but leaving behind a written record, he killed himself. Upon that the king became very much dejected.' Then he (Manetho) thus writes concerning the rest:—

"'Now when these people had suffered sufficiently by the hard work in the stone quarries, the king yielded to their entreaty, and gave up to them for their deliverance and protection, the town of Avaris, which had at that time been forsaken by the Shepherds (*i.e.* the Hyksos). But this town, according to the traditions of the gods, had always been a Typhonian town. Now, when these people had entered into this town, and found the place favourable for revolt, they appointed as their leader a priest of Heliopolis, by name Osarsiph, and swore to obey him in all things. He established as their first law that they should worship no gods, and that they should not abstain from those animals which, according to the law, are considered most holy in Egypt, but that they might sacrifice and consume them all; also that they should associate only with their fellow-conspirators. After he had established these and many other laws, which were entirely opposed to the Egyptian customs, he commanded them all to set to work to build up the town walls, and to prepare themselves for war against king Amenophis. But, whilst he consulted some of the other priests and infected persons, he sent messengers to the Shepherds who had been expelled by Tethmosis to the city called Jerusalem, and after he had let them know what had happened to himself, and to the others who had been injured along with him, he invited them to make war against Egypt in unison with his followers. He would first of all conduct them to Avaris, the city of their forefathers, and amply provide the troops with what they required; but if it were necessary, he would protect them, and easily subject the country to them. Greatly rejoiced, they readily brought together as many as 200,000 men, and soon arrived at Avaris. But when Amenophis, the Egyptian king, heard of the invasion of these people, he was not a little disturbed, for he remembered what Amenophis, the son of Paapis, had prophesied. He first collected the Egyptian troops, conferred with his commanders, desired those sacred animals which are the most honoured in the sanctuaries to be brought to him, and commanded the individual priests more especially to conceal the images of the gods most securely. But he sent his son *Sethos*—who was also called Ramesses, from Rampses the father (of Amenophis,)—to his friend the king of Ethiopia, being then five years old. He himself indeed, went forward with the remaining Egyptians, who amounted to 300,000 fighting men; however, when the enemy advanced to meet him, he did not engage in battle, but returned hastily to Memphis, because he believed he was fighting against the gods. Then he carried off the Apis and the other sacred animals which had been brought thither, and repaired immediately with the whole army and the remaining baggage of the Egyptians to Ethiopia. The king of Ethiopia was in fact beholden to him; he therefore received him, supplied his troops with all the necessaries of life which the country afforded; assigned to them as

many towns and villages as would suffice for the predetermined thirteen years in which they would be compelled to be deprived of the government; and even placed an Ethiopian army on the borders of Egypt as a protection to the people of king Amenophis.

"'Thus it stood in Ethiopia. But the Solymites, who had come into the country *together with the unclean of the Egyptians*, treated the people so shamefully, that the period of their government appeared to all who then beheld these impieties, the worst of times; for they not only burned towns and villages, and were not satisfied with plundering the sanctuaries and abusing the images of the gods; but they continually made use of those venerated and sacred animals which were fit to be eaten, compelled the priests and prophets to become their butchers and destroyers, and then sent them away destitute.'"

4. Up to this point there has not been a single word which could induce the belief that this statement referred to the Hebrew settlers in Egypt. The persons mentioned as actors in this revolt are "the Solymites" from Jerusalem, descendants of the Hyksos, who, in the account of that people, are said to have built Jerusalem, and "the unclean of the Egyptians." The Solymite Shepherds were not included among the persons condemned to labour in the stone quarries, but were invited by these latter to come to their assistance. The persons unclean and affected with leprosy, are Egyptians; their allies are Phœnicians, or Canaanites. Then follows the sentence which identifies the lepers and unclean with the Hebrews.

"'It is said, however, that the priest who gave them a constitution and laws, was a native of Heliopolis, and called OSARSIPH, from the god Osiris in Heliopolis, went over to these people, changed his name, and was called MOSES.'

"This, and much more, which for the sake of brevity, I must omit, is what the Egyptians relate concerning the Jews. But Manetho says further that Amenophis afterwards returned out of Ethiopia with a great force, that he and his son Rampses, who had also an army, gave battle to the Shepherds and the unclean, conquered them, killed many, and pursued the remainder to the borders of Syria. Manetho wrote this and similar things."

5. This tradition related by Manetho, has been and is generally received as the Egyptian account of the Hebrew

Exodus, even by those who really believe that there was a Hebrew Exodus. The first question which must occur to the mind of the reader of Manetho's tradition is, Where are the Hebrews? because they do not appear on the face of this account at all. Not only are they not named, which is immaterial, but there is no implication of their existence as a body of settlers in Egypt distinct from the Egyptians. The classes of persons who take part in this Exodus of Manetho are, 1, unclean, lepers and impure, that is, heretic and infidel Egyptians; and, 2, Phœnicians, or Canaanites from Jerusalem, called in as allies by the revolted Egyptians. It is not pretended that these Semitic allies represent the Hebrews; on the contrary, they who accept this tradition as the Egyptian account of the Exodus, admit that the Hebrews are represented by Manetho as the impure persons who were condemned to work in the quarries east of the Nile.

6. Now it is evident that there is but one word in this tradition which could lead to the suspicion that the events related were connected with the Hebrew Exodus, and that word is MOSES.

"It is said that the priest who gave them a constitution and laws, who was a native of Heliopolis, and called *Osarsiph*, from the god Osiris, in Heliopolis, *went over* to these people, changed his name, and was called MOSES." Osarsiph is here represented as an Egyptian, one of the "learned priests who had been attacked with leprosy," whose enforced bondage brought on the king the anger of the gods.

It is this statement, and this only, that forms the connecting link between the story of the lepers and the Exodus of the Hebrews. It is evident that the whole of this story might be true, and yet have no connection at all with the history of the Israelites. It is like the case of a false *alibi* in a criminal prosecution, where all the details of the narrative told by the witnesses for the prisoner are strictly true in their minutest events, with the important exception of the

presence of the accused at the time and place at which such events occurred.

It may be, indeed, that it is not only the name of Moses which has been inserted in this legend, but also those imputations of leprosy and disease which are attributed to the Egyptians thus identified with the Hebrews. It is an important consideration in estimating the value of these traditions that none of them, in the form in which we possess them, are of earlier date than the time of the first Egyptian Ptolemies. Even in the time of Manetho portions of the laws of Moses existed at Alexandria in the Greek tongue, and the injunctions relating to leprosy were well known to the Alexandrian controversialists. We see in this tradition the enunciation of the hatred of the Greeks for the proud and supercilious Jews, whose political degradation made them the more captious and presuming in matters of religion; who pretended to look upon the Greeks as unclean Gentiles, and to hold in contempt all origin and all religion that was not of Abrahamic descent. The misanthropic character of the Jews, their refusal to eat, even to mix with people of a different race, their hostility to strangers, and hatred of other nations, are noticed in the traditions mentioned by Diodorus and Hecatæus.

7. It is very probable that Josephus obtained this legend, if not indeed all his other extracts from Manetho, from the works of Apion. He certainly was not, at the time he completed his "Antiquities," in the thirteenth year of Domitian, A.D. 93, acquainted with the works of Manetho. The work of Apion "Against the Jews" appears to have been written after the publication of the "Antiquities," and with the express intention of ridiculing the pretensions to peculiar divine origin for their laws and customs, asserted by Josephus. Apion was an old and known enemy of the Alexandrian Jews, being one of the ambassadors sent to Caligula, A.D. 40, on occasion of a tumult at Alexandria between the Greeks and the Jews. Josephus says, "One of these ambassadors

of the people of Alexandria was Apion,[1] who uttered many blasphemies against the Jews, hoping to provoke Caius to anger against them." Apion had written a work on Egypt, in five books, which was highly valued in antiquity, for it contained descriptions of nearly all the remarkable objects in Egypt. It also contained numerous attacks upon the Jews.[2] The work to which Josephus especially replied was the work "Against the Jews," and we may be sure that that work contained this tradition of the Leper Exodus, than which nothing could be more insulting or more abhorrent to the feelings of the Jews, or more suitable to the object which Apion had in view in his work against them. When we see that the older story in Hecatæus contains no mention of the lepers, while it does contain the name of Moses, we may well believe that an old and genuine tradition of the Exodus of the Hebrews existed in Egypt, which underwent at the hands of the Alexandrian Greeks, the modifications necessary to convert it into a weapon against the Jews.

We shall find that the circumstances of this Leper Exodus may have a real foundation in Egyptian history, though altogether unconnected with the Exodus of the Hebrews.

8. All the attempts which have been made to bring this relation of Manetho into harmony with the Hebrew narrative of the Exodus, are founded on the assumption that the lepers and impure persons of Manetho are the Jews, and that Osarsiph and Moses are historically identified. Lepsius has adopted this conclusion somewhat hastily, and on very insufficient grounds.

"It is true," he observes, "that neither Manetho, nor any one of the authors we have named, expressly says that the expelled people were of a different race from the Egyptians; but the cause of this may have been that the entrance of the family of Jacob into the country, which was so important to

[1] Antiquities, book xviii. c. 8. [2] Euseb. Præp. Evang.

the Jews, probably passed unnoticed by them. It is certainly a mistake to suppose that the Israelites were the only strangers in Egypt. They dwelt in the land of Goshen, on the eastern border of the Delta, but of course only a very small body, in the midst of the Egyptians, and many Philistines, and Arabians, from whom the Egyptians could not distinguish them.

"The emigrating people were described especially by Manetho, and by all the other Egyptian traditions, as a race of unclean, leprous Egyptians, godless and hated by God. *It is evident* that the people thus designated were of foreign extraction, differing in faith, *consequently* godless settlers in Egypt, the shepherd families, who, on account of their occupation, in remembrance of the old hereditary enemy, were hated by the genuine Egyptians, especially by the priests; 'for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptian.'"[3]

This sentence contains several unproved assumptions, and incapable of proof.

9. The tradition as presented by Manetho affords no hint of the foreign extraction of the revolted people, and no explanation is offered of the remarkable fact that the Egyptian historian, when recording the revolt and ultimate expulsion of a foreign race, should have represented the Hebrew tribes, settled on the eastern borders of Egypt, as a mere concourse of diseased and disaffected Egyptians, collected from all parts of Egypt and driven into the quarries on the eastern bank of the Nile. The account of Manetho would be just as complete on the face of it (with the single exception of the name of Moses) if Joseph, Jacob, and the children of Israel had never been in Egypt at all, and in truth their name, presence, and part in this Leper Exodus, are as completely ignored by Manetho as if that were the fact. It is remarkable that Josephus introduces this story by making Manetho say, that

[3] Letters from Egypt, &c. p. 410.

"he will now write the legendary accounts concerning the Jews," when the history that follows does not mention the Jews or contain any circumstance from which it could be inferred that they were intended, except, as before observed, the change of name from Osarsiph to Moses.

10. The same tradition, differing somewhat in its details, and the names of the actors, was related by Chœremon, an Egyptian of Alexandria belonging to the priesthood, and one of the keepers of the Alexandrian Library, who was a contemporary of or lived shortly before the time of Josephus. He is called a Hierogrammate or Sacred Scribe, and wrote a work on the history of Egypt as well as one on hieroglyphics. His account of the Exodus has been preserved by Josephus:—

"The goddess Isis appeared to a king Amenophis in his sleep and reproached him that her temple lay in ruins, having been destroyed during the war. The king, however, was assured by Phritiphantes the sacred scribe, that if he would purge the land of Egypt of all polluted persons, he should for the future be freed from such nightly terrors. The king thereupon caused the infected people, to the number of 250,000 persons, to be collected and driven out of the country. The leaders of this host were two scribes, named Moses and Joseph, the latter of whom was a sacred scribe; their Egyptian names were Tisithen and Peteseph. They proceeded to Pelusium and there found 380,000 people who had been left by Amenophis because that king had been unwilling to introduce them into Egypt. Having entered into a league with these people they invaded Egypt; and Amenophis, without sustaining their attack, fled into Ethiopia, leaving his wife pregnant. She concealed herself in certain caverns, and there brought forth a son whose name was Messenes; who, when he became adult, drove the Jews into Syria, in number about 200,000 men, and received back his father Amenophis who returned from Ethiopia."

11. A similar account was given by Lysimachus, also an Alexandrian, who lived somewhat earlier than Chœremon. He relates that in the reign of a king Bocchoris, the Jews being infected with leprosy and other diseases took refuge in the temples, and became mendicants. A famine arose in the land of Egypt, and king Bocchoris having consulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, was commanded to purge the temples of the impious and unclean, to drive them into the

desert, and to drown the lepers, which he performed. The unholy and irreligious being driven into the desert, put themselves under the command of one Moses, who undertook to conduct them to an inhabited country, and finally brought them to Judæa, where they built a city which they called Jerusalem.

This story was repeated by Tacitus, as the one most generally credited in his time.

12. Diodorus also repeats the tradition, that the Jews had been driven out of Egypt, disgraced, and hated by the gods; and that in order to cleanse the country, those attacked with the white sickness and leprosy, had been collected together and cast beyond the frontiers as an accursed race. But the expelled people had conquered the country round Jerusalem, had formed the nation of the Jews, and transmitted to their descendants their hatred of mankind. On that account also they had adopted perfectly anomalous laws, neither to eat with any other people, nor to show them any kindness.

13. There was another set of traditions which connected the Exodus of the Hebrews with the Egyptian migration to Phœnicia and Greece, under the leadership of Danaus and Cadmus.

Manetho, in another portion cited by Josephus, states that Amenophis, the son of Rameses Miammon—that is, Rameses II.—had a son named SETHOS, who was also called RAMESES (or who had a brother named RAMESES, for it is not clear which is meant). This SETHOS had a great force of ships and cavalry. He had a brother named ARMAIS, whom, while he himself fought against Cyprus, Phœnicia, the Assyrians, and the Medes, he made governor of all Egypt. The only restrictions placed upon the power of Armais were, that he was not to wear the royal crown, and not to injure the queen-mother and her children, or any of the royal concubines. *Armais*, however, did exactly in contravention of his brother's orders, and set himself up as king. Upon this one of the

priests wrote to Sethos an account of how matters stood, when the latter returning to Egypt, arrived at Pelusium, and recovered the government. From him the country was called Egypt, for he (Manetho) says that SETHOS was called EGYPTUS, and ARMAIS his brother was called DANAUS.

14. Herodotus, who had noticed a tradition of the people of Chemmis in the Thebaid, that Danaus and Lynceus ancestors of Perseus, were natives of that city, and sailed from thence into Greece, afterwards relates that Sesostris-Sethos, on arriving at Pelusium, nearly fell a victim to his brother's treachery, on whom he afterwards took ample revenge; but Diodorus gives a fuller account from Hecatæus of Abdera.

"When, says Hecatæus, a plague once broke out in Egypt, most people believed that it was a punishment sent by the gods. For since many strangers of divers races dwelt among them, who practised very anomalous customs with respect to the sacred things and to the sacrifices, it came to pass that hence their own ancient worship of the gods declined. Therefore the natives feared there would be no end to the evil, if they did not remove those who were of foreign extraction. The foreigners were therefore quickly removed. The best and most powerful of them united together, and, as some say, were driven away to Greece and other places under distinguished leaders, of whom Danaus and Cadmus were the most famous. But the great mass withdrew to the country which is now called Judæa, situated not far from Egypt, which was at that time barren and uninhabited. The leader of this colony was MOSES, who was distinguished by the power of his mind, and by his courage. He captured the country, and besides other towns, built HIEROSOLYMA, which has now become so famous. He also founded the temple, which was so peculiarly holy in their eyes, taught them the worship and the service of the Deity, gave them laws, and regulated their constitution. He divided the people into twelve tribes, because this is the most complete number, and agrees with the number of months in the year. But he set up no image of the gods, for he did not believe God had a human form, but that he is one god, who embraces heaven and earth, and is lord of all things. He regulated the sacrifices and the usages of life very differently from those of other nations, since in consequence of the banishment which they had themselves experienced, he introduced a misanthropical mode of life, hostile to strangers."

In this account the Exodus is one not of Egyptians, but of foreigners.

15. Syncellus also, in the Laterculus, makes "Armais, who is also Danaos," the predecessor and brother of Rameses Egyptus, and mentions his rule in the Grecian Argos, and his posterity, who were called Danaidæ.

The Greek fable represented Danaus as a grandson of Neptune and Libya. Libya was given to Danaus, while Egyptus obtained Arabia. It also recorded the flight of Danaus from fear of his brother's designs against him, and the subsequent murder of the sons of Egyptus by the daughters of Danaus. The groundwork of this fable had a deep root in some early connexion between Greece and Egypt.

16. If we compare all these accounts together, we see that they agree in the statement, that a great migration, accompanied by, or the result of a plague and other calamities, took place from Egypt; and that the emigrants, or a portion of them, made their way into Syria, where they built the city of Jerusalem.

17. The earlier and genuine traditions—that of the expulsion of the Hyksos related by Manetho, and that by Hecatæus of Abdera, a contemporary of Alexander the Great—make no mention of the leprosy and infectious diseases attributed to the emigrants in the later versions, and which may be ascribed to the bitter hostility existing between the Jews and Greeks of Alexandria, and the notorious hatred and contempt of the latter for the former.

18. Böckh, whose authority on this subject is of the highest, observes that "this narration of the Leper Exodus certainly forms a part of Manetho's history, but inserted as a very unattested tradition. In Josephus' opinion, it was inserted by Manetho himself; but I think it far more probable that it was inserted by some other person, in order to bring the Jews into contempt."[4]

19. Ewald, who, as we have seen,[5] altogether rejects the

[4] Manetho und die Hundsternperiode, p. 302. [5] Ante, page 186.

Hebrew narrative of the origin of the Israelites and their settlement in the land of Goshen, as the mere individualising of ancient national traditions, readily accepts this story of the Leper Exodus as the true account of the Exodus of the Hebrews. He looks upon this story of Manetho and that of the Book of Exodus as the same narrative; the difference between the two accounts being attributable to the fact, that the one appears in an Egyptian, the other in a Hebrew dress.

"This narrative of Manetho," he says, "has a pure Egyptian character, and may, as Josephus observes, have been drawn more from popular tradition, than from public historical records; for it explains the misfortunes of king Amenophis entirely according to the religious notions of the Egyptian people. Setting aside this essentially Egyptian aspect of the narrative, we still perceive in it the features of a well-founded historical record; and widely as it differs from the Old Testament narrative, there are still points of contact between the two, which point to an original identity of the events related. Above all, we see in it the history, not of a merely savage devastating enemy without higher views, like the earlier Hyksos; but an enemy, who, although for the most part of Shepherd race, yet place themselves under a leader, under whom they accustom themselves to a new religion and new customs, altogether opposed to those of the Egyptians, especially in their contempt of the Egyptian gods, and their avoidance of all intercourse except with their confederates, both of them striking marks of the Mosaic system. On the other hand, the Egyptian king fights not so much for his country and his people, as for the maintenance of the old national religion in its ancient forms and symbols. On both sides it was essentially a religious war, like that which afterwards took place between the Israelites and the Canaanites. And how much soever the Scripture narrative of the contest between Moses and Pharaoh may differ from it, yet in both narratives appears the kindling of a religious

war, the different representation of which by the Egyptians and the Hebrews, is to be ascribed to the difference of their religious opinions." [6]

20. But Ewald, who, though he sees so much more in this tradition than appears on its surface, has accepted the authority of Manetho for its details, next proceeds to show that Manetho's account of the matter is very erroneous.

The statement of the Egyptian historian that the tribes called in by Osarsiph, the priest of Heliopolis, to the assistance of the revolted Egyptians, were the descendants of the old Hykšos expelled by Thothmosis, and that they came from Jerusalem, or even from Phœnicia, Ewald rejects as an easily explained unhistorical mistake. For these allies of the Israelites, as he considers the revolted Egyptians and lepers to be, were, in his opinion, no other than the Midianites and Kenites, both races of the old Abrahamic stock, dwelling in the peninsula of Sinai, whither Moses had fled after slaying the Egyptian, with whose prince Jethro he was nearly allied by marriage, and into whose land and holy sanctuary of Mount Sinai, he led the children of Israel after their flight from Egypt.

"When we see that at the very moment when Moses, then in Asia, is preparing for his return to Egypt, Aaron goes to meet him at Mount Sinai, and then both together penetrate into Egypt; this necessarily presupposes a movement in Asia, corresponding to one which had already pre-existed in Egypt. The elder brother Aaron had certainly, during the absence of Moses, not been idle in the work on account of which he now came to meet him in Asia. So, when we see the two great brethren after their meeting in Asia, though occasionally opposed to one another, still working together in the prosecution of their most important undertaking, we perceive above all, the truth that the whole revolt of Israel was preceded by two great commotions—one in

[6] Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 104.

Egypt, the other in Asia—the leaders of which were Aaron and Moses; and these remains of the Hebrew recollection of these changeful times, indicate the union of these two powers, one already existing in Egypt, the other coming from Asia, to aid in the same contest with the adherents of the Egyptian religion.[7]

"So, where Manetho describes the revolters who allied themselves with the Shepherds, as Egyptians, and as having among them many members of the priesthood, we see that the new Jehova-religion had taken deep root in the Egyptian soil, and included among its professors numbers of native-born Egyptians, and that the whole contest is less a national than a religious war."[8]

21. Even if this amplification of the legend of Manetho be well founded, it still affords no explanation of the remarkable circumstance that the Egyptian historian in relating the events of a civil and religious war, should give no indication that it was to a people of foreign race settled in Egypt, that the introduction of the new religion was due. For Ewald indeed, Moses represents the Asiatic; Aaron the Egyptian element in this religious revolution, and it is difficult to see what part he assigns to the tribes of Jacob-Israel, who according to his view were settled in Egypt at the request of their kindred tribes of the stock of Joseph, to assist in defending the frontier of Egypt against the Asiatic nomads always hovering on its borders.

What Manetho has related of the matter is but a scanty foundation for these large and comprehensive views of Ewald.

22. If we compare the account which Manetho gives of the expulsion of the Hyksos with the same historian's narrative of the Exodus of the Lepers, we cannot but perceive that many of the details are common to both traditions. Dr. Prichard long ago observed, that the second conquest of

[7] Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 47. Id. vol. ii. p. 108.

Egypt by the Shepherds is so completely in all essential particulars a copy of the first, that it might be concluded that the two relations belong to the same event.[9] It is at least evident that there are two traditions, the details of which have been much mixed up together, which relate to a civil and religious war, great cruelties and impieties, the presence and the expulsion of a foreign people from the land of Egypt.

The king under whom, according to Manetho, the Hyksos were driven out of Egypt, was either Aahmes, whom he also calls Tethmosis, or another Thothmes, the son of Misphragmouthosis. But Manetho and Chœremon, both having access to the best sources of information, agree that the king of the Leper Exodus was named Amenophis. This Amenophis is considered to be identified with Menephtha I. of the nineteenth dynasty, as he is represented by Manetho as the son of a Rameses, and having a son named Sethos. But this Sethos is said by Manetho to have been also called Ramesses, which Seti II, son of Menephtha, certainly was not.

It is evident that Manetho, as cited by Josephus, and also by Africanus, has given a very confused account of the succession of the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. He has confounded Sethos, Seti-Menephtha I, the great conqueror, son of Rameses I, with the second Sethos, Seti-Menephtha II, if not also with Menephtha-Siphtha, a rival monarch of the same period. His compiler Africanus, has entered Amenophis-Menephtha in his list twice; once as the predecessor of Sethos, the second time as the predecessor of Rameses; thus:—

| Africanus. | | Josephus. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18th Dynasty. | Yrs. | | Yrs. Ms. |
| 14. Armesses . . . | 5 | 14. Armais . . . . . | 4 1 |
| 15. Ramesses . . . | 1 | 15. Ramesses . . . . | 1 4 |
| 16. *Amenophath* . . . | 19 | 16. Armessses Miammon | 66 2 |

[9] Analysis of Egyptian Mythology. Bristol, 1810.

| AFRICANUS. | | JOSEPHUS. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 19th Dynasty. | Years. | | Years. Mths. |
| 1. Sethos . . . . | 51 | 17. Amenophis . | 19 6 |
| 2. Rapsakes . . . | 61 | 18. Sethosis, who is also Rameses. Sethosis was called Egyptus; Armais, his brother, was called Danaus. | |
| 3. *Amenephthes* . . | 20 | | |
| 4. Ramesses. . . | 60 | | |
| 5. Amenemes . . | 5 | | |
| 6. Thouoris, whom Homer calls Polybus, the husband of Alcandra, in whose time Troy was taken. | | | |

It is clear that the Sethos intended by Manetho, is Sethos the conqueror, the Seti-Menephtha of the monuments, who was a predecessor of Menephtha I, and indeed, not his son, but his grandfather.

23. The two classes of persons mentioned as taking part in the Leper Exodus, are unclean Egyptians, and their allies, foreigners from Phœnicia. Now, one of the first exploits of Sethos the conqueror, Seti-Menephtha I, was the expulsion of the Asiatic Shasou from the city or fortress of Pithom, a border fortress on the east of the Delta, which they were then actually occupying. The inscription on the wall of the Great Hall of the Temple of Ammon at Karnac, states that this king in the first year of his reign attacked and conquered the Shasou, who inhabited the city of Pithom and thence to the land of Canaan.[10]

We know also that his father Rameses I. succeeded by a doubtful title in the female line to a throne, the legitimate heirs to which were the partizans of a strange heresy, the nature and origin of which forms one of the most obscure periods of Egyptian history. The chief patron and promoter

[10] Brugsch, Hist. d'Egypte, p. 129.

of this heresy was Amenophis IV, though it had already been introduced in the time of his father, Amenophis III, the Memnon of the Greeks.[11] Amenophis IV. and his courtiers and followers are represented on the monuments with most remarkable features, entirely foreign and un-Egyptian. The king of the orthodox party was Horus, who appears to have conquered the heretics, and confined their power to Ethiopia, where many representations of them remain. Syncellus, speaking of Amenophis III, makes the curious observation, "under him the Ethiopians came from the Indus and settled in Egypt." Whencesoever this heresy —a peculiar form of sun-worship—may have been introduced,[12] it is certain that it met with great opposition and persecution, and was finally exterminated, very probably by Sethos I. However this may be, we have the names Amenophis, Horus, Sethos, and Ethiopia mixed up with the events of a religious war, and the rooting out of the impious and profane from among the Egyptians. Of the circumstances of this revolution and its wars, neither Manetho and the historians, nor Egyptian tradition, has left any account, unless it is to be found in the legend of the Leper Exodus, and the short notice by Eusebius and Syncellus, probably obtained from Africanus, that the Ethiopians had settled in Egypt during the reign of Amenoph III. This notice, short and scanty as it is, yet connects the presence of a foreign people in Egypt with the period of the introduction of the religious heresy of the Disk-worshippers; and adds great strength to

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[11] "Amenophis himself seems to have ended his days in peace, and was buried in the tombs of the Western Valley; but after his death the flames of religious war burst forth."—Mr. Birch in Archæological Journal, vol. viii. p. 404.

[12] Sir G. Wilkinson thinks it not improbable they were Cushites or Ethiopians, who, from intermarriage with the Egyptian royal family, claimed the throne they usurped; and their despotic rule is shown by the abject manner in which the soldiers and others in their service were obliged to crouch before them. Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 306.

the opinion that it is to these foreigners and the impure and heretic Egyptians who were associated with them, that the legend of the Leper Exodus really applies. And this view, in fact, supplies the only reasonable explanation of the statement in that tradition, that Egyptian priests and sacred scribes were included amongst the impure persons condemned to work in the quarries, though perfectly inexplicable as regards the Israelites. The story in Manetho also implies that the whole land was to be purged of the impure, whereas the Israelites were notoriously collected in the limited territory on the eastern border of Egypt.[13]

24. A Coptic tradition, preserved by the Arabic writers,[14] represents that a king Surid, 300 years before the flood, dreamed a marvellous dream, in consequence of which he assembled the wise men of Egypt in consultation, when it was declared by Philimon, the high-priest, that some great event would take place. The astrologers being commanded to consult the stars as to its nature, announced an approaching deluge, and further that, after the deluge, a stranger would invade the country, kill the inhabitants, and seize upon their property; and that afterwards a deformed people, coming from beyond the Nile, would take possession of the kingdom; upon which the king ordered the Pyramids to be built, and the predictions of the priests to be inscribed upon columns, and upon the large stones belonging to them; and he placed within them his treasures, and all his valuable property, together with the bodies of his ancestors.

The "deformed people coming from beyond the Nile" are evidently the representatives of the "race of ignoble origin,

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[13] Bunsen observes that all the Egyptian traditions in Manetho and the Alexandrian writers are based upon the assumption that the Hebrews were scattered at that time over the whole of Egypt, or at least, Lower Egypt. Egypt, &c. vol. iii. p. 326.

[14] Extract from the work of Masoudi in Vyse's Pyramids, vol. ii. p. 321.

coming from the parts towards the east," of Manetho; and the tradition exhibits the same mixture of legends and confusion of events as those preserved by Herodotus and Manetho.

25. The appellation given by the Arabic tradition to the people from beyond the Nile, "a deformed people," is also a very remarkable one, taken in connection with the representations of the heretic Disk-worshippers still preserved on the monuments; for the portraits of these are so remarkable, and not only un-Egyptian in feature, but so different from the Egyptian conventional style of drawing, that if they were not evidently the work of contemporary artists, and representations made in honour of Amenophis IV. and his followers, it might be supposed that they were intended as caricatures, and as tokens of disrespect. Mr. Palmer, in noticing these representations, observes that this king, Amenophis IV, has all the appearance of a foreign usurper, and his mother, Taia, certainly appears to have been an Asiatic. "Women and others come out to implore his clemency as a conqueror; the native Egyptians crouch before him as in fear; Asiatics with beards and hooked noses are in his suite; and, lastly, this king and the other members of his family are distinguished by a peculiar formation, a thickness about the loins and hips, precisely similar to that of certain figurines in earthenware found in Mesopotamia.[15]

The monumental evidence, however, appears to indicate that Amenophis IV. was really an Egyptian by birth, and the son of Amenophis III, but by his mother's side a half-blooded Asiatic, probably a Chaldee or Assyrian; and hence his foreign connections and alliances, and the great development of the Disk-worshipping heresy, under his auspices.[16]

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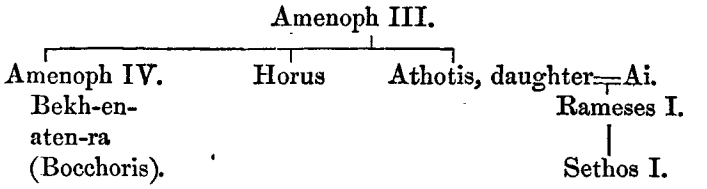
[15] Egyptian Chronicles, p. 177.

[16] The object of this worship, the disk or orb of the sun, is called Aten, or Aten-ra. This name Mr. Birch compares with the Hebrew "Adonai," the Syrian Adonis.—Archæolog. Journal, vol. viii. p. 405.

26. The tradition preserved by Lysimachus, that the name of the king under whom the lepers and unclean were cast out of Egypt was Bocchoris, probably owes its rise to the circumstance that Amenoph IV, for some reasons connected with this religious heresy, took the name of Bekh-en-aten-ra,[17] a name which was, no doubt, prominently connected with the history and traditions of the Disk-worshippers.

27. The close relationship between all the parties, except Osarsiph, mentioned in the legend of the Leper Exodus, with the actors in the war of the Disk-heresy, is seen in the following list:—




[17] Now read Chuen. If it should be established that the name adopted by the heretical Disk-worshipper, Amenoph IV, with reference, as it would seem, to this particular form of religion, is to be read Chuen, we may perhaps compare it with the Arabic and Hebrew Cohen, a priest, or high-priest.

Mr. Palmer thinks that this name Chuen, or Chouen, may be read Chousan or Quashan, and identifies him with the Chush-an-ri-sh-athaim of the Hebrew text, the Arabian or Mesopotamian conqueror of the Israelites. He looks, and with great probability, on these heretic Sun-worshippers as of foreign extraction if not foreigners. "At any rate, having an Arabian and Mesopotamian conqueror, with a name so nearly alike in Palestine *at the very time*, we can scarcely avoid identifying him with the Sun-worshippers of the Egyptian monuments; especially as these Shasou are made by Manetho to come *from Judæa*, and at the invitation of those other Shepherds (not really identical with the Hebrews), who, according to him, 'are sometimes called Arabs,' and who had long before been expelled from Egypt. If this identification be ultimately established, it will be the oldest of all known synchronisms of sacred and profane records."—Egyptian Chronicles, vol. i. p. 181.

It is very probable that the whole of the story relating to the condemnation of the impure to work in the stone quarries on the east of the Nile may be derived from the similarity in sound between the name of *Goshen*, the territory east of the Nile, in which the Israelites were settled, and the Hebrew word *Gozan*, which, according to Gesenius, perhaps

The war was chiefly carried on between the two brothers, Amenophis IV. and Horus; and the reign of Rameses I. was so short that Sethos may be said to have been almost the immediate successor of his great-uncle Horus, whose policy he adopted, and finally exterminated the Disk-heresy in Egypt.

28. It is evident that this is the history, the traditions of which have been applied to that of the Hebrew Exodus. The foreign allies whom the Lepers are represented as having called in to their assistance, and located at Tanis, are really found by monumental evidence to have been in possession of Pithom, on the eastern bank of the Nile, in the commencement of the reign of Sethos I, and it is to his conquest of these Shasou that the legend of Manetho refers.[18] At the same time it is impossible that the Israelites could then have been settled in that district, the seat of war and occupied by Arabian tribes, and highly improbable that the circumstances which are narrated of their settlement could have occurred immediately after the forcible expulsion of a nomad people from the very region in which they were to be peaceably settled. The Israelites must have departed from Egypt before the district east of the Nile became the battle-ground of Sethos and the intrusive Shasou.

29. The manifest errors and confusion in the list of Manetho, as given by Africanus, and in the extract from Manetho in Josephus, as to the later kings of the eighteenth and those of the nineteenth dynasty demonstrate, that this period

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means a "stone quarry." And this, again, is probably connected with the *Cushan*, the Greek Gauzanitis of Mesopotamia, the original seat of the heretic Disk-worshippers.

[18] "It was probably the fact that the word *Shasou* designated at once the earlier Shepherd kings, the Hebrew Shepherds, and all Arabs and Asiatic nomads, that suggested to Manetho the idea of blending four distinct histories into one myth, which, for its complete inversion of the truth, and the proportions and complexity of its falsehoods, is certainly remarkable."—Egyptian Chronicles, p. 179.

of Egyptian history is involved in an obscurity, which probably Manetho himself could not altogether clear up.

It is very improbable that Manetho, writing a history of Egypt, should have altogether passed over without notice the history of a religious war which had the effect of altering the legitimate succession of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, and placing upon the throne a descendant, in the female line, of the great Thothmessides, while the elder legitimate branch was still in existence. It is reasonable to conclude that Manetho did give an account of these transactions; that he related that there was a religious convulsion which shook Egypt to its centre; that the defeated party, the Disk-worshippers, called in the aid of foreign allies, the Shasou of the Arabian desert, and were with their allies ultimately driven from Egypt by Sethos, the son of one and the father of another Rameses. This narrative, in which the heretic Egyptians were designated by the orthodox historian as impure and unclean, was seized upon with avidity by the Alexandrian Greeks, and by them was moulded into a narrative of the Hebrew Exodus, for which, indeed, nothing more was required, than to add the imputation of leprosy and the name of Moses.

30. We can see, also, how in popular tradition the two events of the Tanite, or Hyksos revolution, and the religious war of the Disk-worshippers should have been confounded. For in both instances the struggle was against the Theban worshippers of Amun.

One of the most marked features of the Disk-heresy was the opposition between the Disk-worshippers and the worship of Amun-ra, the god of Thebes; they held his name in great abomination, and cut it out of every accessible place where it was inscribed.[19] In the earlier war, the opposition was that of Typhon, probably representing some particular phase of the

[19] Archæolog. Journal, vol. viii. p. 405.

Osiris worship, against Amun; in the later it was also that of a religious sect against the worship of Ammon. In both, probably, foreign allies may have been called in; in both religious hatred gave rise to cruelty and persecution, and the defeated parties have been stigmatised by the conquerors as unclean heretics, and as rebels.[20]

Lepsius attaches great importance to the statement of Manetho, that king Amenophis was desirous of becoming a beholder of the gods, *like one of his ancestors, king Horus,* as testifying to its genuine character, since Horus was certainly a *predecessor,* namely the fourth, of Menephtha, but a successor of all the three Amenophises of the eighteenth dynasty, which he terminated.[21] But we must observe that Manetho does not use the words "one of his ancestors, king Horus." He says "Horus, one of those who had reigned before him." This is an important difference, for the statement of Manetho must certainly be taken in a mythological, not in an historical sense. Horus, the last divine king who reigned in Egypt,[22] was the predecessor of every Pharaoh. Chœremon, moreover, represents king Amenophis, not desirous of beholding the gods, but of being freed from the nightly terrors inspired by their ominous warnings; and the prophet Pritiphantes gives precisely the same advice in this instance as the prophet Paapis gave in the other.

We see that Chœremon assigned to the leaders of the Leper Exodus the names of Tisithen for Moses, and Peteseph for Joseph. It is probable that in this last name we have the origin of the unexplained termination "siph" in the name of Osar-siph given by Manetho to Moses. We must recollect

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[20] Sir G. Wilkinson refers the legend of the expulsion of Danaus and Cadmus to this period, and remarks that the name of Danaus resembles that of Toon-h, one of the Sun-worshipping kings.—Rawlinson's Heredotus, vol. ii. p. 307.

[21] Extracts from Lepsius's Chronology, in his Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sinai, p. 421.

[22] Herodotus, ii. c. 144.

that the authorities from whom all these traditions are derived lived after the time when the Hebrew Scriptures had been current in the Greek language in Alexandria, and most of them after the date of the Septuagint translation.

31. It is curious to see the name of OSAR making its appearance in connection with that of *Aaron* as a Jewish name, in a story relating to the epoch of Manetho himself. There is a fabulous story in Abul Phatac's Samaritan Chronicle respecting the Alexandrian version of the Hebrew Scriptures, as follows:—"In the tenth year of his reign, Ptolemy Philadelphus directed his attention to the contradictions between the Samaritans and the Jews respecting the law. To inform himself on these points the king sent for the Jews and Samaritans, and desired the elders of both parties to hear the controversy. OSAR came to Alexandria on the part of the Jews, AARON on that of the Samaritans, each attended by several assistants."[23]

32. Those writers who accept the story of the Leper Exodus of Manetho as representing the Hebrew Exodus of Moses, are compelled to and indeed do look upon the so-called children of Israel who marched into the desert of Sinai, and ultimately settled in the land of Canaan, as a heterogeneous mixture of Egyptians, Hebrews, Amalekites, and Canaanites, (of whom, indeed, the descendants of Jacob form but a very insignificant portion,) and who were consolidated into a nation afterwards called Israelite, by the wisdom and ability of an apostate Egyptian priest of Heliopolis, originally named Osarsiph, but who is known to us through the medium of the Hebrew narrative as Moses. The story of the descent of Moses from Amram of the tribe of Levi, and the whole of the genealogies of the twelve tribes, and their common descent from a common ancestor detailed in

[23] De Wette, Critical and Historical Introduction to the Old Testament, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 143.

the Hebrew writings must therefore, in this view of the case, be looked upon as a monstrous fiction. If Moses was an Egyptian priest, who having been affected by leprosy was condemned to work in the stone quarries, and afterwards became the leader of an Egyptian revolt, in which he was joined by a few shepherds of Hebrew descent, and a large body of Canaanite allies, the entire narrative related in the Pentateuch must be altogether rejected as a fable.

33. As the tradition of the Leper Exodus evidently applies to a portion of Egyptian history, unconnected with that of the Hebrews, and only associated with the latter through the misapplication of the tradition by the Alexandrian Greeks, we must turn to the history of the expulsion of the Hyksos, to ascertain if any closer correspondence with the narrative of the Hebrew Exodus is to be found in that tradition than in that of the Leper Exodus.

The principal features of the history of the expulsion of the Hyksos, as represented by Manetho, are as follows:—

i. The emigrating people are not Egyptians, but foreigners of a different religion from that of the Egyptians.

ii. They are a Shepherd people located at Avaris, or Tanis, in the east of Egypt, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the land of Goshen.

iii. The Shepherds are permitted to depart by the Egyptian king, or Pharaoh, as the result of a treaty or negotiation between them.

iv. They depart in a large body to the number of 240,000 men, together with their women and children, and all their sheep and cattle, and plunder.

v. They are said to have marched towards the north-east, but to have turned aside, and, entering Palestine, to have there built the city of Jerusalem.

This last statement is deserving of especial notice, because it coincides with the narrative of the march of the Israelites into Canaan. These, in fact, after proceeding eastwards and

northwards to the east of the Dead Sea, crossed the river Arun, marched north to Heshbon, and then turning sharply to the left, passed the Jordan at its fords opposite the city of Jericho, and took possession at once of that portion of the country in which Jerusalem was afterwards built.

We certainly have here a description of *an Exodus* which more nearly corresponds, in its details, with the Hebrew narrative of the Israelite Exodus than does the story of the Exodus of the Lepers. It cannot, therefore, be so entirely nugatory as Lepsius and Bunsen represent it to be, that we should still farther investigate this question as to which is the true Egyptian tradition of the Hebrew Exodus.

34. We possess in the Hebrew narrative a circumstantial and explicit history of the migration from Palestine, or Canaan, to Egypt, of a family of Semitic origin, and of Shepherd manners, customs, and occupation, who obtained a settlement in the eastern parts of Egypt, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the city of Avaris, or Tanis, "the field of Zoan," if not in the Sethroitic nome itself. One of this family is said to have rendered services to the Egyptian monarch, by whom he and his people were regarded with favour and affection. After a time, these same Hebrew Shepherds were reduced to servitude by the Egyptians, and ultimately, after a struggle in which the Egyptians suffered great calamities, the Hebrew Shepherds were permitted by the Egyptian monarch to depart from Egypt, with their wives and children, flocks, herds, and spoil, and did depart, taking their course through the desert of the Sinaitic peninsula, and, marching northwards along the eastern border of the Dead Sea, suddenly turned to the west and entered the land of Syria, where they afterwards built the city of Jerusalem.

The account of the departure of the Hyksos by Manetho, and the account of the Exodus in the Hebrew narrative, are as nearly identical as two narratives of the same event, written in different languages, under different tones of na-

tional feeling, can be reasonably expected to be, and it must be admitted that a *primâ facie* case of the identity of the two transactions has been established.

35. Two objections have always been opposed to the identification of the Hebrews with the Hyksos. The first arises from the enormously exaggerated period of time claimed for Egyptian history in general, and for the duration of the Hyksos period in particular; the other from the impossibility of admitting, in accordance with the Hebrew narrative, that the Hyksos *kings* of Manetho could be identified with the descendants of Jacob. The first of these difficulties has been already disposed of; the period allotted by Manetho and his followers to the Hyksos dynasties is as unreal as the antiquity once accorded to the astronomical representations of Dendera and Edfou. The second objection will, on examination, be found to be equally unsubstantial.

36. The Israelites were settled in the land of Goshen.[24] The reason given for their settlement in this district is, that it was the best suited for the pasturage of cattle,[25] and that Joseph wished that his brethren should not be mixed up with the Egyptian agriculturists, who despised the occupation of shepherds and herdsmen.[26] The observation of Joseph when recommending his father to say to Pharaoh that the occupation of his people was that of tending flocks, because "every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians," has been thought to favour the opinion, that the advent of the Israelites to Egypt occurred after the expulsion of the Hyksos or Shepherd race of oppressors, whose very occupation had been rendered offensive to the Egyptians by the remembrance of their cruelties. But it is now known that the shepherds and herdsmen of Egypt were always a class apart from the peasantry, and their occupation held in great disrepute by the Egyptians in general. This did not extend to the

[24] Gen. xlvi. 29-31. [25] Id. xlvii. 6. [26] Id. xlvi. 34.

farmers who bred sheep and cattle; it applied only to those who tended and had immediate care of the flocks; and the Egyptian artists, as if to show the contempt in which these people were held, frequently represented them lame and deformed, dirty and unshaven, and sometimes of a most ludicrous appearance.[27]

It is evident that it was not the race of Shepherds, but the occupation, that was disliked by the Egyptians; for Joseph, when his origin from a family of Shepherds became known, suffered no diminution of respect; and Jacob, the patriarch of the Hebrew Shepherds, was honoured as the chief of his people, embalmed in the most distinguished Egyptian manner, and the procession to the burying-place of his fathers, in the land of Canaan, was accompanied by the officials of the Egyptian monarch.

37. The land of Goshen, assigned to the Hebrews as a settlement, lay on the eastern border of the Delta, and, according to the LXX, in the nome afterwards called the Arabian nome. The LXX. also translate Gen. xlvi. 28, "And he sent Judah before him unto Joseph, that he should meet him at Heroonpolis in the land of Ramesses;" which one of the Coptic versions renders, "at Pithom in the land of Ramasses." Goshen was evidently an Egyptian word, and was applied to the district which lay to the east of that arm of the Nile which flowed into the Mediterranean near Pelusium. This arm of the Nile separated the settlement of the Hebrews from the cities of Bubastis and Tanis, the Zoan of the Hebrew writers. It was certainly with the city of Tanis or Zoan that the chief events of the Exodus were connected, and in or near that city the Pharaoh of the Exodus must have had his residence. The writer of Psalm lxxviii. says expressly that the miraculous plagues were

[27] Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, &c. vol. i. new series, p. 125.

wrought in "the field of Zoan."[28] It has been conclusively proved by Brugsch that Avaris was the hieroglyphic or sacred name for the city of Tanis,[29] and Avaris was the residence of the Hyksos.

Lepsius argues very strongly for Pelusium as the ancient Avaris, but it has been shown that the kings of the Hyksos were registered as Tanite kings, and were therefore no doubt seated at Tanis as their metropolis.

38. It is quite certain from the whole tenor of the Hebrew narrative, that the Pharaoh to whom Joseph became minister, was an Egyptian, and not a foreign prince. This has been sufficiently shown by Lepsius in the work already cited, and needs no farther comment.

39. There is one prominent circumstance in the history of Joseph which it has been supposed may enable us to identify the Pharaoh whom he served. This is the great alteration which he is related to have effected in the agrarian condition of the country; a change in the tenure of land, and the introduction of a system by which all land except that of the priest-caste, was to be held of the king, at a rental calculated at one-fifth of the gross produce.

"And Joseph bought all the land for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine prevailed over them; so the land became Pharaoh's.

"And as for the people, he removed them to cities from one end of the borders of Egypt even to the other end thereof. Only the land of the priests bought he not, for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their

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[28] It is probable that this term "field of Zoan," is a translation of the Egyptian word Goshen, as it is pronounced with the points, but which the LXX. write Gesem; that is, "kah san," the field of San or Tanis. The modern Copto-Arab pronunciation of the name of the ancient Tanis is San.

[29] Geographische Inschriften, b. i. p. 86, &c.

portion which Pharaoh gave them; wherefore they sold not their lands.

"Then Joseph said unto the people, Behold, I have bought you this day and your land for Pharaoh; lo, here is seed for you and ye shall sow the land. And it shall come to pass in the increase, that ye shall give the fifth part unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field and for your food, and for them of your household, and for food for your little ones.

"And they said, Thou hast saved our lives; let us find grace in the sight of my lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants. And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part, except the land of the priests only which became not Pharaoh's."[30]

Herodotus has preserved a notice of this change in the tenure of land, and there can be no doubt that the king to whom he attributes the introduction of the measure is the Sesostris, Rameses II. of the nineteenth dynasty. He also says that the same king caused to be dug "all the canals now seen in Egypt," in order to insure a supply of water to those cities which were situated at a distance from the river.

Diodorus notices the same circumstances in different terms, and attributes the introduction of a new division of the country into nomes, and the raising of mounds, to which the towns that were situated too low were transplanted, to king Sesoosis. There can be no doubt that the relation in the Book of Genesis applies to the same transaction as that noticed by him and Herodotus; and the question arises, is Herodotus right in attributing this change in the tenure of land to Rameses II? If he is, then Joseph entered Egypt under that sovereign, and the Exodus took place, as Lepsius maintains, under Menephtha, about B. C.

[30] Genesis xlvii. 20-26.

1314; if not, then the Hyksos legend of Manetho is the Egyptian account of the Hebrew Exodus.

40. It is very difficult to believe that the canalization of Egypt was so incomplete in the time of the nineteenth dynasty, that the effecting of that great change in the condition of Egypt can be referred to that epoch. The great works undertaken by the kings of the twelfth dynasty for the draining and canalization of the Fayoum, furnish a sufficient objection to such an opinion. The careful measurement of the rise of the Nile under the same kings, and their successors in Upper Egypt, the Sevekhopts, implies a system of canals and reservoirs, and leads to the same conclusion. We find also that Ameni, a chief or nomarch of Hermopolis under Sesortasen I. congratulates himself in his inscription at Benihassan, on the fact that in his time, owing to a very ample inundation, he had not found it necessary to cut the branches of the canal in his nome.[31]

The only two great monarchs of the nineteenth dynasty were Sethos I. and his son Rameses II. They expended the treasures of Egypt in great wars abroad and magnificent buildings at home; treasures which never could have been accumulated had not the agricultural wealth of Egypt been long previously developed by the very system of canalization which Lepsius attributes to these sovereigns.

That the statement of Diodorus as to the division of the country into thirty-six nomes cannot apply to Sethos I. of the nineteenth dynasty, is evident, if anything more than a mere rearrangement of the then existing division of the country into nomes is intended; for the existence of this division of Egypt into nomes, appears in the inscription in the tomb of Benihassan, also of the time of the twelfth dynasty, where the nome of Sah is mentioned under the

[31] Birch, On a Remarkable Inscription of the Twelfth Dynasty, Trans. Roy. Soc. Liter. second series, vol. v. p. 235. Brugsch, Hist. d'Egypte, p. 56.

same title *hesp* as that used under the Ptolemies; and Dr. Brugsch finds examples of this nome division of Egypt as early as the time of the fourth dynasty. If the proposition that these statements of the Greek historians are to be referred to the time of the nineteenth dynasty, emanated from a less important authority than Dr. Lepsius, it would hardly require refutation.

41. We must certainly look to a Sesostris of an earlier period than the nineteenth dynasty for the promotion and developement of these great industrial and political undertakings.

Sesostris was a name known to the Greeks as that of a great conqueror whose armies had marched victoriously through Asia. In the popular Egyptian tradition it appears to have been a representative name of all that was great and glorious, like that of Arthur among the Britons. Manetho certainly applied the name to one, if not to all three of the powerful kings of the twelfth dynasty, who bore the name of Sesortasen, in which, most probably, the appellation originated.[32]

If the testimony of Manetho is good for anything, it is good for the fact that a king of the twelfth dynasty was called Sesostris, and that this Sesostris was the successor of Amenemha II, and therefore Sesortasen III.

Bunsen has observed, that in a passage of Strabo, Sesostris the Egyptian is said to have been the first who subjugated the land of Ethiopia, and that of the Troglodytes. From thence he crossed over to Arabia, and then overran the whole

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[32] Dr. Brugsch derives the name Sesostris from what appears to be a bye-name of Rameses II. Sest-sou (Königsbuch, plate 33), a most improbable supposition. Mr. Osborne finds it in the title borne in the throne-name of Rameses II, Sotpra, or "Sothphra, in which the Greek name of this sovereign has probably originated."—Egypt's Testimony, p. 79. It is much more probable that the root of the name is to be found in the two first syllables as well of the throne-name of Rameses as of the family name of Sesortasen, "*Sesor*—."

of Asia. The conquests of the Sesortasens in Ethiopia are attested by numerous monuments, and no tradition could have ascribed the first conquest of this country to the nineteenth dynasty. The remark of Manetho, that the Sesostris of the twelfth dynasty was ranked next in honour to Osiris, receives its explanation from the fact that the kings of the eighteenth dynasty paid a peculiar worship to Sesortasen III, who occupies the position of a local god, very different from that of a mere member of a divine triad, accorded by the flattery of the priests to many Egyptian sovereigns.[33]

Another proof that the traditions relating to Sesostris current in Egypt and mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus, apply to the great monarchs of the twelfth dynasty, has been already noticed in speaking of Pheron, the son of Sesostris, who was succeeded by Proteus, the "man of Memphis."[34]

42. Not only then on the general grounds that the undertakings mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus, and by them ascribed to Sethos-Sesostris of the nineteenth dynasty, must have been executed at a much earlier period; but also, on the testimony of Manetho and the historians, that there existed an earlier and much renowned Sesostris, we must attribute the great agricultural and political improvements noticed by the Greek historians, and recorded in the life of Joseph, to one of the kings of the twelfth dynasty, and apparently to Sesortasen III.[35]

Bunsen, after hesitating between the first and third Sesortasen as the Pharaoh of Joseph, finally decided in favour of Sesortasen I. In the reign of this king occurs the remarkable inscription in the tomb of Benihassan, in which Ameni, nomarch of Sah or Hermopolis, states that, "When there were years of famine I ploughed all the fields of the land of

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[33] Egypt, vol. ii. p. 296, &c. [34] See ante, p. 196.

[35] M. de Rougé also recognizes the real Sesostris of the Greeks among the kings of the twelfth dynasty. Lettre à M. Maury in Rev. Archæol. vol. iv. p. 478.

Sah, giving life to those in it, and supplying them with food. There was no famine there."[36] It is certainly a very curious coincidence, that in the same tomb in which this notice of a famine in the time of Sesortasen I. appears, there should be found that celebrated representation, unique in its kind, of the arrival of a band of Asiatic strangers, with countenances of certainly a Semitic, if not of a truly Jewish type, with their wives and children, not as prisoners or enemies, but bringing presents to the chief Nehar, a relation of the nomarch Ameni.

This representation at least furnishes a proof of the relations of the Egyptians with foreign Asiatic tribes in the time of the first kings of the twelfth dynasty, though from the position of the nome over which the owner of this tomb was governor, we cannot suppose that the representation refers to the arrival of the children of Israel in Egypt.

43. All the circumstances which tend to show the probability of the Pharaoh of Joseph having been one of the kings of the twelfth dynasty, have been very fully examined by Bunsen. But though he arrived at the conclusion, that the rise of Joseph to power must be referred to this epoch, he nevertheless placed the Exodus in the reign of Menephtha, about B. C. 1320. As he considered the Hyksos period to have lasted more than nine centuries, he found himself compelled to advance the startling proposition that the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt extended over a period of more than 1500 years.

This opinion presents a remarkable contrast to that of Lepsius, who comes to "*the necessary conclusion*" that only about NINETY years intervened from the entrance of *Jacob* to the Exodus of *Moses*."[37]

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[36] Birch, On a Remarkable Inscription of the Twelfth Dynasty, Trans. Roy. Soc. of Lit. second series, vol. v. p. 232.

[37] Extracts from Chronology of the Egyptians in Letters from Egypt, &c. p. 475.

44. According to the statement in Genesis, the children of Israel sojourned in Egypt 430 years.[38] The Septuagint translates this verse thus: "Now the dwelling of the children of Israel which they dwelt in Egypt and in the land of Canaan, was 430 years." It has been thought that in this translation the LXX. mean to say that, the time which intervened between the entrance of Abraham into Canaan and the Exodus, was 430 years, and that 215 years, or exactly one half of the 430, are to be attributed to the time from the entrance of Abraham into Canaan in his seventy-fifth year, to the entrance of Jacob into Egypt in the 130th year of his age. But this is clearly not the meaning of the Greek text, which refers not to Abraham but to his great grandchildren, the sons of Jacob. The promise to Abraham was, "Thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them 400 years."[39]

The LXX. in translating the Hebrew verse, Exod. xii. 40, probably took the number of 400 years as mentioned above as the time of the sojourn in Egypt, and the additional thirty years of Exod. xii. 40 as the time of the sojourn of the children of Israel—that is, Jacob and his sons—in Canaan, after the patriarch had left Padan-Aram, and before he went down into Egypt. The meaning of the Hebrew writer in Exodus is made perfectly clear by the succeeding verse: "And it came to pass at the end of the 430 years, *even the selfsame day*, it came to pass that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt." This must certainly apply to the time of "the dwelling which the children of Israel dwelt in Egypt." The Samaritan version, however, is more explicit than the LXX; it says, "the dwelling which the children of Israel *and their fathers* dwelt in Egypt and the land of Canaan." Josephus followed the Alexandrian tradition, since he expressly states, "they left Egypt in the

[38] xii. 40. [39] xv. 13.

month of Xanthicus, the fifteenth day of the lunar month, 430 years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan, but 215 years only after Jacob removed into Egypt."[40] St. Paul again says that, "the law was 430 years after the covenant with Abraham,"[41] which is a different view from that of Josephus, if the covenant to which St. Paul refers, is the second covenant with Abraham,[42] made at least twenty-five years after the patriarch had entered Canaan. Neither the number 430, nor any other number was necessary to St. Paul's argument, which is merely that the promulgation of the law being after and later than the covenant which had been confirmed, "cannot disannul (that covenant) so that it should make the promise of none effect." The words of the apostle, therefore, cannot be taken as an express declaration as to the time which elapsed between the covenant with Abraham and the giving of the law at Sinai. The statement in Gen. xv. 13 that 400 years was to be the duration of the affliction in Egypt, and that in Gen. xii. 40, that the children of Israel were 430 years in Egypt, are so clear and express, that we have no alternative but to receive this definition of the period, or to reject altogether the statements of the Hebrew writer on the subject.

It is also to be observed, that the number 430 is not a multiple of 40. It is not therefore open to the objections urged against the numbers 40, 80, and 480, which reappear in the Hebrew narrative as though expressive of an arbitrary, not a real number of years.

45. If Joseph entered Egypt in the reign of one of the Sesortasens, as has been suggested, and if the Hyksos legend of Manetho represents the Exodus of the Hebrews, the time which elapsed between these two events may be computed as follows:[43]—

[40] Antiquities of the Jews, book ii. c. 15.

[41] Galatians iii. 17.

[42] Genesis xvii. 1-22.

[43] These dates are taken from Lepsius' Synoptische Tafeln in the Königsbuch.

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Sesortasen I. reigned . . . . . | 46 |
| Amenemha II. reigned . . . . | 38 |
| Sesortasen II. reigned . . . . | 28 |
| Sesortasen III. reigned . . . . | 38 |
| Amenemha III. reigned . . . . | 42 |
| Amenemha IV. reigned . . . . | 8 |
| Sebeknofre . . . . . | 4 |
| | 204 |

If we add to these 204 years the 260 of the Tanite kings, and 80 years of the eighteenth dynasty to the reign of Thothmes III. for the date of the Exodus, we have 554 years, which is too long a period from Joseph to the Exodus. But if we deduct from this sum the 112 years of the three first kings of the twelfth dynasty, we have exactly 432 years, which is a very close approximation to the length of the period, supposing the 430 years of the Hebrew text be taken as the length of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt. This would place the elevation of Joseph in the reign of Sesortasen III, the most venerated of all the monarchs of the twelfth dynasty, and to whom, rather than to the earlier Sesortasen I, those great works which so greatly promoted the material prosperity of Egypt should be attributed.

46. It may be, however, that this result is merely fortuitous and of no real value; that the identification of the Pharaoh of Joseph with Sesortasen III. is unfounded, and that the time to be assigned to the Hebrew settlement in Egypt is not more than 215, perhaps not more than 150 years.

If these views be adopted, Joseph must have entered Egypt not in the reign of a king of the twelfth dynasty, but of one of the Tanite kings, the Hyksos of Manetho. This was no doubt the opinion of all the early Christian writers, who were agreed that Joseph entered Egypt under, and was elevated to power by one of the Shepherd kings.

The failure in identifying the Pharaoh of Joseph with

Sesortasen, does not affect the question of the Exodus having taken place under Thothmes III; some writers, indeed, believe there is evidence to prove that the Hyksos kings of Manetho and the kings of the twelfth dynasty were contemporary, and that consequently Joseph may have been the minister of the Sesortasen who altered the tenure of land in Egypt, and at the same time have entered Egypt in the time of the Shepherds.

47. Assuming, however, for the present, that the statement in the Hebrew text as to the duration of the Hebrew settlement in Egypt is correct, Joseph was brought into Egypt during the reign of one of the Pharaohs of the twelfth dynasty, Sesortasen III, who appears to have been resident at On or Heliopolis, (where one of his predecessors had erected two magnificent obelisks,) and who raised Joseph to a situation of trust and importance in the government, and under the advice of his Hebrew minister, carried out those important changes which improved alike the finances of the empire and the position of the agriculturist.

During the reign of these Theban kings of the twelfth dynasty—about eighty or ninety years—the Hebrews would naturally continue to enjoy the protection accorded to them by the patron of their great ancestor; and it is reasonable to suppose that many of the Hebrew race were employed by the Pharaohs of the twelfth dynasty in offices of trust connected with administration and finance. Towards the close of this dynasty, the sceptre fell into the hands of weaker monarchs, and at last into those of a woman, and the revolution occurred in the Delta, which shook off the Theban yoke, and placed on the throne of Lower Egypt a king chosen from among the lower orders of the people, and perhaps of Phœnician extraction. We know nothing of the condition of the Israelites during the 260 years of the Tanite rule, when they were probably lost sight of amid the numerous settlers of a common Semitic origin in Lower Egypt. There

was no reason why the Tanite kings should persecute the Hebrew shepherds of Goshen; but when the Theban princes overturned the Tanite dynasty and recovered the possession of Lower Egypt, "then arose up a new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph."

48. The events connected with this reconquest of Lower Egypt by the kings of the eighteenth dynasty are confused in the account given by Josephus from Manetho, but are clearly explained by the aid of contemporary monuments.

In one part of his narrative Manetho is made to say that Thothmosis, the son of Misphragmouthosis, having besieged the Hyksos in Avaris, and unable to take the fortress by siege, made a treaty with them, and permitted them to depart from Egypt; in another place he says that it was Aahmes, whom he here calls Tethmosis, the predecessor of Chebron, that expelled them from the land. Both these statements are substantially correct, though the details have been mixed confusedly together.

49. The inscription in the tomb of Aahmes, son of Vaivai, generally called the Admiral, who commanded the fleet of armed boats which operated on the canal or arm of the Nile around Avaris, at the siege of that city, expressly states that Avaris was taken by the king Aahmes, the first of the eighteenth dynasty, after several battles, which are by some supposed to have been distinct campaigns, and to have continued over a period of five years.

In this inscription, in which he records his military services from his youth upwards, he says that he was present at the siege of Avaris, and was on board the vessel named Sa-m-Mennefer.

"We fought on the water called the water of Avaris. The king praised me, and gave me a collar of gold for my valour. A second time we fought in this place, and again I distinguished myself and brought away a hand (of a slain enemy). A second time I received a collar of gold. We then fought

on the south of the fortress (Avaris). I took a prisoner, and went towards the canal, bringing the prisoner along, and fighting on the road to the fortress; but I lost him at the water. The king praised me, and again gave me a collar of gold. *The fortress of Avaris was taken*, and I brought away a man and two women, altogether three heads, which his majesty gave to me for slaves. We then besieged the city of Sarouhan,[44] and conquered it, &c."[45]

50. It is clear, then, from the testimony of an indifferent witness, who was himself not only an eyewitness of, but an actor in the events which he relates, that the city of Avaris was taken by storm, the Hyksos dynasty of Tanis overthrown, and the Hyksos kings expelled or slain, by Aahmes, first king of the eighteenth dynasty.[46] The siege ascribed to Thothmosis, the son of Misphragmouthosis, and the treaty by which the city was not taken but surrendered, the besieged being allowed to withdraw with all their possessions, must relate to some other event.

51. There can be no doubt that Lower Egypt was completely subdued by King Aahmes. An inscription dated in the twenty-second year of his reign shows that the stone quarries of Mokattam, near Memphis, were then worked under his orders for the construction of monuments at Memphis and Thebes; and another inscription at the same place shows that he was in possession of Heliopolis, on the border of the Hebrew settlement of Goshen.

52. With the presence of the Theban conquerors in Lower Egypt began the persecution of the Hebrew tribes. They are said to have "increased abundantly and multiplied, and

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[44] In southern Canaan.

[45] Brugsch's translation. Histoire d'Egypte, p. 80.

[46] It may be suggested that this conquest of the Tanite kings by Aahmes lies at the foundation of the wide-spread legend of the flight of the Danaidæ = Tanitæ from Egypt to Greece. The epoch of the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty is far more suitable to the event than that of the nineteenth.

waxed exceeding mighty, and the land was filled with them." They formed a compact and numerous body of Phœnician or Canaanite connexions, settled in "the gate of Egypt," commanding the passage to Syria and the peninsula of Sinai. To both princes and people of Upper Egypt, they were obnoxious on political and religious grounds, as well as by race and occupation.

53. The expressions put into the mouth of the Theban king by the Hebrew writer are very natural, under these circumstances. "And he said unto his people, Behold the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we; come on, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land."

In accordance with this policy the Hebrews were reduced to a condition of vassalage, which was deepened into slavery. If we suppose that the attempt to exterminate them by the murder of all the male infants, commenced soon after the conquest of Avaris and shortly before the birth of Moses, a period of about eighty years, or that assigned as the age of Moses at the Exodus, brings us to the reign of Thothmes III, under whom, according to one statement of Manetho, the expulsion of the Hyksos took place. According to the Hebrew narrative, this portion of the persecution commenced between the birth of Aaron and that of Moses, and therefore, by the same calculation, in the very commencement of the reign of Aahmes.

54. Thus the *Hyksos-legend* of Manetho contains an account of two different events occuring in the same locality, but separated from each other by a period of about eighty years; the conquest of the Hyksos, or SHEPHERD-KINGS of Tanis, and the Exodus of the Hyksos, or CAPTIVE-SHEPHERDS, and it is quite clear that these latter could have been no other than the children of Israel.

55. Manetho represents these latter as also in occupation of Avaris, or Tanis, at the time of the Exodus. It follows from the description in the Hebrew narrative of the Exodus, that the Israelites must have been collected together for the purpose of their pre-determined departure. This may have been at the city of Zoan, or around it, for the Hebrew writers refer to the plagues as having been wrought "in the field of Zoan." It is represented as having been in the immediate neighbourhood of the Pharaoh, and may also have been at Rameses, the town on the banks of the great canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, from which the Israelites are said to have commenced their journey.[47]

The siege of Avaris, ascribed by Manetho to Thothmes III, should have been related by him in the history of Aahmes, who took the city. In the reign of Aahmes occurred the conquest of the Tanite kings; in the reign of Thothmes III. the Exodus of a Shepherd people; and we know of no other Shepherd people driven out or migrating from Egypt, than the Israelites.

56. The date of the Exodus of Israel is readily ascertained on this basis. Taking the inscription on the fragment of the wall at Elephantine[48] to belong to the reign of Thothmes III, we find that monarch to have been on the throne of Egypt in the year B. C. 1445.[49]

Thothmes III. reigned thirty-eight years, during twelve of which he was only co-regent with his sister, Ha-t-asu, the Mephres of Manetho. The calendar of Elephantine was not therefore, probably, framed before the commencement of his sole reign. This allows a margin of fourteen years in which to fix the date of the Exodus; so that this event, THE

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[47] Exodus xii. 37. [48] Ante, p. 126.

[49] I prefer this date as calculated by Biot for the latitude of Elephantine. If it is considered that the calculation should be founded on a mean of observations from Memphis to Elephantine, the date would be B.C. 1474.

EXODUS OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL, took place between the years B.C. 1445 and B.C. 1431, in the reign of Thothmes III, fifth king of the eighteenth dynasty of Manetho.

57. There is some monumental evidence belonging to the reign of Thothmes III. which has been thought to have reference to the events connected with the servitude of the children of Israel as related in the Hebrew narrative.

In a tomb at Thebes belonging to Rek-shau, chief architect of the temples and palaces at Thebes under Thothmes III, is a remarkable representation, in which Asiatic captives, bearded, and of a light complexion, to distinguish them from the Egyptians, who are painted, conventionally, red, are depicted making bricks for the temple of Ammon at Thebes. Task-masters armed with rods superintend their labours and urge them to diligence. These captive brick-makers have been thought to represent the Israelites, reduced to labour in this manner, as stated in the Hebrew narrative; but there is no reason to suppose that they had been removed from the Delta to Thebes; and the Asiatic conquests of Thothmes III. must have supplied numerous Asiatic prisoners who were thus employed. It is, nevertheless, an interesting representation, taken in connexion with the fact that the severe oppression of the Israelites, in the matter of brick-making, as related in the Book of Exodus, must have occurred in the reign of the king under whom the owner of the tomb in which this representation occurs, served as chief architect.

58. "The monuments supply another indication, approaching still nearer to a proof that Thothmes III. and no other is the king under whom the Exodus took place. For in the mounds of Heliopolis, one of the cities, according to the LXX, which were fortified by the labour of the Hebrews, many sun-baked bricks, bearing the stamp of Thothmes III. have been used, which, on being broken, show that they were made *without straw*; whereas, ordinarily, the earth of which

these bricks are made is held together by a mixture of chopped straw. It is impossible not to see how this singularity is accounted for by the Scriptures. The demands made by Moses and Aaron in favour of the Hebrews had led only to an aggravation of their servitude. Straw was no longer supplied to them. They were required to get it for themselves as they could, and yet to deliver the same tale of bricks. So when, in spite of all the threats of the task-masters, the bricks fell short, and their native officers were beaten, and they complained to Pharoah, instead of obtaining any redress they are again told by the tyrant that they are only idle, and are absolutely required to make the full tale of bricks as before. The consequence, though it be not written, is easily seen. They would make with straw as many bricks as they could, and fill up the tale required, when straw fell short, by making bricks without it. So there is a strong probability that the bricks found bearing the name of Thothmes III, and made without straw, were made at that particular time." [50]

59. We are now, also, able to explain a part of the confusion into which Manetho and his followers fell, in mixing up the legend of the war of the Disk-worshippers with that of the Hyksos, and both with the Hebrew Exodus. Manetho says that the Pharaoh of the Leper Exodus was an Amenophis. It is not probable that there is any mistake as to this name, or that it is a corruption of Amenephthes, or Menephtha, since the same name is given to the high priest of the legend, and the composition of the two names is so entirely different, that no Egyptian could have made any mistake between them. There is no doubt that the name Amenophis, which occurs in the legend of the Lepers, is derived from a tradition relating to the Disk-worshippers. It is very remarkable that the son of the Aahmes who overthrew the Tanites, and took the city of Avaris, was named

[50] Egyptian Chronicles, vol. i. p. 194.

Amenophis, afterwards Amenophis I; and the son of Thothmes III, who expelled the Israelites, the Hyksos expulsion of Manetho, was also an Amenophis, afterwards Amenophis II. It is extremely probable, and we have a right to assume, that in each transaction there was an Amenophis concerned, and that the princes who bore this name respectively played a principal part, and probably were in command of the Egyptian forces, as well at the siege of Avaris as at the events which preceded the departure of the Israelites.

We also find the name of an Amenophis of the eighteenth dynasty, who is clearly, by his connexion with other names belonging to the early part of that dynasty, altogether removed from the time of Menephtha, in a passage which Eusebius and Clemens Alexandrinus have preserved from the work of Artabanus, a Greek historian of unknown date, containing the history of the Hebrews in Egypt, and their departure under Moses. He names the Pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites, Palmanothes. This king, according to Artabanus, built Kessan (Goshen), and the temple of Heliopolis. His daughter was named Merrhis; being childless she adopted a young Israelite who was named Moÿses, or Musæus.[51] This princess was married to Chenebron, or Chenephren, king of a district in Upper Egypt, for "at that time Egypt was divided into several petty kingdoms." All these names belong to the eighteenth dynasty, in which we have Amenophis and Chebron; and a daughter of Aahmes and sister of Amenophis was named Meri-Amun. The epoch to which these names belong is precisely that of the birth of Moses.

60. This view of the transactions in question, founded on the combined evidence of Manetho, the monuments, and the Hebrew narrative, certainly contrasts very favourably with the marvellous state of confusion in which the supporters of the Leper Exodus as that of the Hebrews, are involved.

[51] Josephus calls the princess who adopted Moses, Thermuthis. Antiquities of the Jews, book i.

According to Lepsius, the Amenophis of Manetho, the Pharaoh of the Leper Exodus, is Menephtha I.

According to Mr. Osburn,[52] this Amenophis was not Menephtha, but Siphtha, the last king of the eighteenth (nineteenth?) dynasty, who was the Pharaoh that perished in the Red Sea; while a second invasion of Shepherds, after the Exodus, placed on the throne a king Re-merri, who appropriated to himself the tomb of Siphtha at Bibân-el-Moulouk. This Re-merri was the same as Osar-siph, who is erroneously called Moses by Manetho; and his faction was driven out of Egypt by Rameses III, son of Siphtha.

According to Miss Corbaux, Amenophis was Seti-Menephtha II. (the Menephtha of Lepsius never having been a king at all). Siphtha was an usurper, who drove the Amenophis of Manetho, *i. e.* Seti II, into Ethiopia. This Siphtha is the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and was drowned in the Red Sea. The name Osarsiph was made up by Manetho out of Osar = Moses, and Siph = Siphtha,[53] and it has been thought to be a corroboration of the opinion that Siphtha, son of Menephtha I, was the Pharaoh of the Exodus, that this king did not occupy the tomb which he had prepared for himself at Thebes. Thence it is argued that he was drowned in the Red Sea, which, however, does not seem to be a necessary consequence.[54]

61. The closing period of the nineteenth dynasty was certainly one of trouble and disorder. The foreign wars of Sethos I. and his son Rameses II. had exhausted Egypt of men and treasure. A civil war, in which the king called Set-nekt or Meri-ra was the conqueror, placed a new dynasty on the

[52] Egypt's Testimony, p. 95.

[53] Historical Introduction to the Exodus Papyri.

[54] Mr. Palmer has pointed out (Egyptian Chronicles, vol. i. p. 192) that neither the Hebrew text, the version of the LXX, or the Latin Vulgate, require that the Pharaoh of the Exodus should have been drowned in the Red Sea. The claims of Siphtha to this position are not therefore advanced by the circumstance that he did not occupy the tomb prepared for him.

throne. Siphtha was defeated, probably slain, and the victor appropriated to himself the magnificent tomb prepared for himself by the defeated, and apparently the legitimate monarch Siphtha. There is nothing extraordinary in this. There was a tradition that Rameses II. himself was not buried in his tomb at Biban-el-Moulouk, but in the Ramesseum; and certainly the tomb prepared for him was never completed.

62. Though the early Christian chronologers were divided in opinion as to the date of the Exodus, they all refer it to the same epoch, the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty. They were nearly all agreed in one synchronism, that the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, whom they call Amosis, was contemporary with Inachus, the mythic king of Argos; and that in his reign Moses and the Israelites were driven out of Egypt. This had been asserted by Ptolemy the priest of Mendes, author of a history of Egypt cited by Tatian, Eusebius, Tertullian, and Cyril. He appears to have lived at the commencement of the first century of the Christian æra, since his work on Egypt was quoted by Apion. Tatian mentions him as a distinguished chronologer, and refers to a chronological work or tables attributed to him. He was, therefore, a man of learning—an Egyptian priest, having the opportunity of drawing from Egyptian sources. According to him, Aahmes, who captured Avaris, reigned contemporaneously with Inachus; and in his reign Moses led the children of Israel out of Egypt.[55] It is evident that Ptolemy of Mendes was acquainted with the true epoch of the capture of Avaris, though he confounded the Exodus with that event.

Apion cited this statement of Ptolemy in his work "Against the Jews," and Theophilus, the chronologer of Antioch, agreed in the same computation. Africanus, who relied on these testimonies, cites Polemon for a tradition that

[55] Bunsen's Egypt, vol. i. p. 90.

in the time of Apis, son of Phoroneus, a part of the military population of Egypt had emigrated from that country, and settled in the Syriac Palestine, not far from Arabia.

The age of Inachus and Phoroneus was calculated by Tatian and Eusebius to have been about sixteen reigns, or rather more than 400 years before the Trojan war, that is, about the seventeenth century B. C.[56] Clemens of Alexandria fixed the date of the Exodus at 345 years before the commencement of the Sothic cycle, or B. C. 1677.

All were agreed, however, that the Hyksos legend of Manetho represented the Exodus of the Hebrews, and no one conceived the idea of placing that event so late as the nineteenth dynasty, or connecting with it the story of the Leper Exodus.

63. "After a careful review of all the authorities and concurring circumstances, it seems to be ascertained," says a learned and cautious writer, "as far as we can expect any question referring to so remote a period, and in so obscure a history, to be decided, that the Shepherds who were expelled from Egypt by the first princes of the eighteenth dynasty, were the Israelites who were led by Moses into Canaan. Manetho, who related their history so circumstantially, certainly considered the Shepherds as identical with the Hebrews; for he mentions that they retired from Egypt *by treaty*, and built Jerusalem and the Temple. And although in the subsequent part of his history he adopted the popular story which represented the Jews as in part descended from Egyptian outcasts, yet he considered the history of these as so interwoven with that of the Shepherds, that he found himself driven to the expedient of bringing that people again from Jerusalem to Goshen, and relating over again their invasion of Egypt, and their subsequent expulsion from it, with almost the same circumstances which occurred in the first

[56] According to the Alexandrian chronographers, the sack of Troy took place B. C. 1184.

narrative of their descent from Arabia or Palestine. Chœremon also, and Apollonius Molo, and Lysimachus, from some of whom Diodorus and Tacitus drew their information, by combining the circumstances of these two relations, and referring them both to the history of the Jews, seem to leave no room for further doubt that the Shepherds of Manetho, who built Jerusalem, were, contrary to the opinion of modern chronologers, the same people who were led through the wilderness by Moses."[57]

64. The mistake common to all the early writers, of placing the expulsion of the Hyksos, and therefore the Hebrew Exodus, under Aahmes the first instead of under Thothmes the fifth king of the eighteenth dynasty, was owing to the fact that Manetho had confounded the two events which took place in these respective reigns; they had therefore to choose between the two kings, and their chronological calculations led them to adopt the former. They saw, however, that the Hyksos, who were driven out of Egypt, must be the Israelites, and that the latter had left Egypt in the reign of one of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty.

65. The principal obstacle to the recognition of the identity of the Israelites with the Hyksos of Manetho, has arisen from the circumstance that the Egyptian historian included under one appellation the Tanite kings and the Shepherd settlers. The Hebrew narrative itself certainly nowhere gives the least indication that any one or more of the sons of Jacob or their descendants, had ever reigned as king in any part of Egypt. Joseph was evidently only an officer or minister of the Pharaoh, and after his death we hear nothing more of the Israelites until the time of their servitude commences. It cannot therefore be contended that the Shepherd or Hyksos *kings* were Israelites.

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[57] Dr. Prichard, Examination of the Remains of Egyptian Chronology, p. 85.

The double interpretation which Manetho has given of the word Hyksos, and the double meaning of both components of the term, furnish a solution of this difficulty; and as soon as we recognize the fact that the two events have been confounded in one tradition, it disappears.

66. There are, however, other objections raised to the view that the Hebrew Exodus and that of the Hyksos are identical, which require consideration.

It is stated in Exodus i. 11, that the Israelites "built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses." Upon this Lepsius observes, "the Hebrew name of the latter town is exactly the same as that of King Rameses in hieroglyphics. Now, it is difficult to believe that this king's name was given to a town before any king Rameses had reigned. We could not, therefore, on account of its name,[58] place the building of this town earlier than under the nineteenth Manethonic dynasty, because this dynastic name first appears here."[59] This town, Lepsius is of opinion, was built by Rameses II, Mei-amun, on the canal which he had constructed; and that therefore the Israelites who built it, must have been still in Egypt in the reign of that king, and could not have departed centuries before.[60]

But this difficulty, which at first sight appears so formidable, fades away on a closer inspection.

67. In the first place, we learn from the monuments that both the fortress of Rameses and that of Pithom were already in existence in the reign of Sethos I, the father of Rameses Meiamun.[61] They were not therefore built by the latter king. Nor could they well have been built by him when prince, for his reign was one of sixty-six years, which leaves little time for any acts before his enthronement. It will not suit

[58] But compare the Egyptian name of Alexandria, Ra-kotis, where the syllable Ra appears to stand for Ra or Ro, a gate or port.

[59] Chronology, p. 426, English version. [60] Id. p. 449.

[61] Brugsch, Histoire d'Egypte, p. 156.

Lepsius' theory to suppose that these towns were built in the short reign of Rameses I, for according to his view, Joseph did not enter Egypt till the reign of Sethos, the son of Rameses I.

68. As far then as the objection suggested by Lepsius is concerned, the difficulty founded on the name of the town Rameses is at an end. This, however, is insufficient to demonstrate the truth of our own opinion. But we do find the name of *Rameses* borne by one of the sons of Aahmes, exactly at the time when we have supposed the persecution of the Hebrews to commence.[62] If, therefore, as there can be no reasonable doubt, the important and almost necessary canal leading from the Nile to the Red Sea was commenced by the first Sesostris of the twelfth dynasty, the construction of a town on the banks of that canal, to which the name of Rameses was given, receives an easy and natural explanation. But this town of Rameses was in the immediate vicinity of *Pe-ra* or Heliopolis. It is most probable, almost, from what we know of Egyptian nomenclature, certain, that there must have been many *haks* or provincial kings of Heliopolis who bore the name of Rameses, "born of Ra, the Sun," named after the great god of Heliopolis, the city of Ra. The Book of Sothis contains a list of no less than six Rameses, antecedent to the Tanite dynasty, which, though pronounced to be forgeries, may well represent a series of Heliopolite rulers. But it is enough to have shown that the name of Rameses was borne by a son of the king who commenced the persecution of the Hebrews, "the king who knew not Joseph."

69. It is also said that, according to the history of the Israelites as recorded in the Old Testament, the Exodus

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[62] Lepsius spells this name "Ramos" in the Königsbuch. But it is written precisely in the way in which Rameses is frequently written, with a single *s*, and exactly as the names of Aahmes of the eighteenth, and Amasis of the twenty-sixth dynasties are written, also with a single *s*. It must be read RAMESES.

cannot be fixed before the reign of the second Rameses, because this king is known from the monuments to have conquered a great part of Asia, and to have held under his dominion probably during his whole reign the peninsula of Petræa and all Palestine. His father, Seti I. is also represented on the monuments as the conqueror of the people of Syria, among whom are the Canaanites. These conquests are nowhere mentioned in the Books of Joshua or Judges, while the numerous far more transitory subjugations of the Israelites by the bordering nations, are fully recorded. To this it may be replied, that the history of Israel for the period between Joshua and Samuel is evidently very scanty and incomplete, and that it will be time enough to enter on an analysis of the monumental evidence when the locality and nationality of the various conquered cities and nations represented on the monuments, are finally settled. As yet, the geographical position and nationality of the Shasou, the most frequently recurring of all the hostile nations, has not been decided on, and the name of Naharaina, "the two rivers," which according to some views represents Mesopotamia, between the Tigris and the Euphrates, represents, according to others, the country on the east of the Jordan, Aram of Damascus.

The greater part of Mr. Osburn's readings, which he brought forward as Egypt's testimony to the truth of the Bible, have been discredited, and the evidence of the widespread Asiatic conquests of the Pharaohs appears to require a good deal of reconsideration.

In any case, the negative evidence arising from the circumstance that neither are the Israelites known to be mentioned on the monuments which record the conquests of Rameses II. in Canaan and Mesopotamia, nor any mention made of conquests by Egyptian armies in the Hebrew narrative, cannot be allowed sufficient weight to rebut the mass of positive evidence which places the Exodus in the reign of Thothmes III.

70. Lepsius has produced an argument in favour of his date for the Exodus B. C. 1314, in the reign of king Menephtha of the nineteenth dynasty, which at first sight appears of considerable weight. The Rabbinical chronology, the founder of which was the Rabbi Hillel, the second of the name, surnamed Hanassi,[63] in the third or fourth century of the Christian æra, places the creation of the world at the year B. C. 3761, the birth of Moses at 2368 years, and the Hebrew Exodus at 2448 years after the Creation. This last date, therefore, or B. C. 1314, corresponds with the fifteenth year of the reign of Menephtha, or the year after the thirteen years' exile of that king into Ethiopia had expired, and therefore exactly the date assigned by Lepsius to the Leper Exodus. So remarkable a result appears at first conclusive of the question. But where could the Rabbi Hillel in the fourth century of the Christian æra have become acquainted with a great historical fact unknown to Josephus, Africanus, Clemens of Alexandria, and Eusebius, and altogether overlooked by Syncellus and other chronologers? Lepsius suggests, that as the æra of Menophres or Menephtha was known to Theon, the mathematician, so it must have been known to the earlier astronomer, Hillel. Then "nothing more was necessary to determine the date of the Exodus which took place under the same king Menephthes," *except the knowledge of the fact,* that the Exodus really did take place in his reign.

71. Now if we examine the chronology of Hillel, we find, that although he fixed the Creation at B. C. 3761, and placed the Exodus in the year of the world 2448, or B. C. 1314, he still allowed a period of 480 years to intervene between the Exodus and the foundation of the Temple of Solomon. But Hillel fixed the date of the foundation of the Temple in the year of the world 2928, or B. C. 834; a date which by

[63] That is, the Nasi or President of the Sanhedrim.

all the authorities—the Ptolemaic Canon, the Hebrew reckonings of the Books of Kings and Chronicles, and we may add, by the chronological computation of Professor Lepsius himself, who places this event in B. C. 989—was at least 155 years too late.

The question therefore arises, did the Rabbi Hillel bring down the date of the foundation of the Temple 155 years, because he had ascertained the true date of the Exodus to be B. C. 1314; or did he fall into the error of placing the foundation of the Temple too late, owing to the state of confusion in which he and those of his epoch had fallen as to the history and chronology of the five or six centuries preceding the Christian æra? Because these 155 years, which is the amount of his manifest error in his date for the foundation of the Temple, added to B. C. 1314, bring us to the year B. C. 1469, which, according to the date furnished by the inscription of Elephantine, falls within the reign of Thothmes III. Then, if Hillel's error has been in fixing the foundation of the Temple 155 years too late through ignorance (since he has done so in fact), his chronology, if rectified on this point, actually places the date of the Exodus just where the Hebrew text of the Book of Kings places it, 480 years before the foundation of the Temple, and, therefore, in B. C. 1469.

The Rabbi Hillel Ben Jehuda was the patriarch, or president of the Palestine Sanhedrim, about A. D. 258. This was the period of the compilation of the Jerusalem Talmud, a work from which the literary character of the age may be estimated. Why, or on what grounds the Rabbinical synod, convened by him for the reformation of the calendar and obtaining the uniform observance of the Passover, fixed the creation of the world at the vernal equinox, B. C. 3761, is quite unknown. Their chronological knowledge can probably not be undervalued. Josephus himself confounded Darius Nothus with Darius Codomannus, and placed Sanballat, prince of Samaria, who was contemporary with Nehemiah,

under the later Darius, who was conquered by Alexander the Great.[64] This error of Josephus may have arisen from the chronological difficulties connected with the genealogical list in Nehemiah xii. 1—26, compared with xiii. 28, where Nehemiah himself is apparently made to live in the time of Jaddua the high priest in the reign of Darius the Persian, whom Josephus confounds with Darius Codomannus, contemporary of Alexander. We have here a source of error amounting to nearly 100 years existing for Hillel and his synod, and we may well suppose that others of a similar kind existed, which the Talmudists were totally unable to detect or rectify. The suggestion of Ideler, that Hillel started from the Seleucide æra, B. C. 312, and reckoned backwards (chiefly by aid of the Hebrew books and genealogical lists), making an error in his calculation of 150 years, is far more probable than that of Lepsius, that the æra of Menophres was known to Hillel, and that the latter also knew that the Exodus took place in the reign of that king, and exactly eight years after the commencement of the Sothic cycle. Clemens of Alexandria, about fifty years before, with at least equal opportunities of knowledge, had fixed the same event 345 years before the commencement of the same cycle.

72. Nothing can be more improbable than that Hillel had any knowledge of the æra of Menophres, or of the true date of the Exodus. If, in fact, he had this knowledge, he made the strange use of it, to forge a false date for the foundation of the Temple, in order to preserve the period of 480 years between that event and the Exodus. If the true date of the foundation of the Temple had been known in A. D. 260, no such falsification could have been attempted by the Palestinian patriarch; it is clear that the error lay in the reckoning back by genealogies to the time of Solomon, and then adding 480 years to get at the date of the Exodus.

[64] Jahn's Hebrew Commonwealth, p. 182. Eichhorn, s. 383. De Wette, Hist. of Old Test, vol. i. p. 332, note.

The proposition that the occurrence of two important events, the Exodus of the Hebrews and the commencement of the Sothic cycle, B.C. 1322, should have been so well known to have fallen in the reign of king Menephtha, that an Alexandrian Greek mathematician could notice the one as a matter of course, and the Rabbinical synod of Palestine adopt the other as a matter not in dispute, and yet remain utterly unknown to Africanus, Eusebius, Clemens of Alexandria, and all the chronologers down to and including Syncellus, is perfectly incredible.

73. The evidence on which the Hebrew Exodus has been shown to fall within the reign of Thothmes III. and, therefore, in the latter half of the fifteenth century B.C., is not affected by the duration which may be assigned to the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt, as it rests upon the proof that the story of the expulsion of the Hyksos by Thothmes III. is the Egyptian account of the Exodus of the Hebrews, and the date of Thothmes III. is fixed by the evidence of the Elephantine inscription.

If we are compelled to give up the express statement of the Hebrew record that the period of the sojourn was 430 years, and admit with Josephus and the Alexandrian version that it was only 215 years, we must give up the remarkable synchronism of Joseph with Sesortasen III, and bring the epoch of the former down to that of one of the kings of the Hyksos or Tanite dynasty, and it has been seen that these kings were of native origin, and as completely Egyptian as those of any other of the dynasties of Lower Egypt. There would, therefore, be nothing in this supposition contradictory of the Hebrew narrative, in which the Pharaoh of Joseph, and the manners and customs of his court and those surrounding him, are represented under a purely Egyptian form.

So, if we adopt the views of Ewald and Lepsius, and hold that only three generations are reckoned between Jacob and Moses, which could produce only about ninety

years, the result would be the same, as the æra of Joseph will still fall under the same dynasty of Tanites, and, in fact, in the reign of the last king of that dynasty, Apophis, under whom the early Christian writers supposed that Joseph had entered Egypt.[65]

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[65] This argument that only ninety years could have elapsed between Joseph and the Exodus appears to be somewhat overstrained. Moses was no doubt only the fourth in descent from Jacob; and it appears that not only Levi the son of Jacob, but Kohath also, was living at the time of the arrival of the patriarch in Egypt. If only thirty or thirty-three years are to be allowed to a generation, it is certainly difficult to suppose that 215 years can have elapsed between Kohath and the eightieth year of Moses. The length of the years of these three descendants of Jacob, Levi, Kohath, and Amram is, however, recorded in a marked and especial manner in a passage where no such notice is affixed to the names of the other persons therein-mentioned, and certainly with some particular object. It is a passage interpolated in the history of the Exodus, and evidently inserted as a genealogical record. (Ex. vi. 14-27.) It commences, "These be the heads of their fathers' houses, the sons of Reuben the first-born of Israel—these be the families of Reuben." Then follows, "the sons of Simeon;" and afterwards, "And these are the names of the sons of Levi according to their generations; Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari; and the years of the life of Levi were a hundred thirty and seven years." Next follow the names of the sons of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari; the sons of Izhar, the son of Kohath, and of Uzziel, the son of Kohath: but the only *names* out of thirty-three to which the duration of life is affixed, are those of Levi, Kohath, and Amram.

The principal object of the record is to give the descent of Moses and Aaron from Levi; and, next, to show the length of time between Levi and Moses, which is represented as greater than the ordinary period of three generations. Levi is said to have lived 137 years, Kohath 133, and Amram 137 years. Unless we are prepared to reject all the statements respecting the birth of sons at a very advanced period of the father's life, we must admit that the time embraced by the three generations from Levi to Moses was an unusually long one, and is so noted in this passage.

These men were dwellers in tents, leading a hardy nomadic life, not inhabitants of crowded cities, and the probability of issue at an advanced age depends more on the age of the wife than that of the husband. The real difficulty in the narrative arises from the statement that the wife of Amram and mother of Moses was the sister of Kohath, a statement the meaning of which, if left uncertain in Exodus vi. 20, appears to be particularized in Numbers xxvi. 59. Probably here, as in other instances, the word rendered daughter has the meaning of grand-daughter, or even kinswoman.

74. The time which elapsed between the Exodus of the Hebrews and the building of the Temple of Solomon would, of course, if accurately ascertained, conclusively fix the date of the former event.

The Hebrew computation of this period was 480 years. Nothing can be more precise than the statement on this point in the first Book of Kings. "And it came to pass in the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month Zif, which is the second month, that he began to build the house of the Lord."

To this number Lepsius thinks no greater importance can be attributed than to the number 40 so often repeated in the history of Israel. He regards it as only a supplementary multiple of 12 generations of 40 years each, and thinks that the great stumbling-block to the whole of the chronology hitherto adopted for the Old Testament has been this number of 480 years, which was calculated as the period between the Exodus and the building of the Temple.

75. Admitting that neither the number 480 of the Hebrew text, nor the number 440 given by the LXX. can be considered as an authoritative measure of the period in question, as both of them are evidently round numbers made up of multiples of the number 40 ordinarily used to express a variable and indeterminate period of time, we still require some measure of the time which elapsed between the Exodus and the building of the Temple. Attempts have been made to extract this chronological measure from the history of the period during which the Hebrews were governed by Joshua and the Judges.

76. In the calculation which Bunsen originally made of the length of this period, from the numbers given in the Hebrew narrative, he inclined to the higher numbers of from 440 to 500 years. At this time, however, he was not a

believer in the application of the Egyptian tradition of the Lepers to the Hebrew Exodus; but at a later period, when he had recognized the validity of Lepsius' argument, he definitively settled the length of the interval at 306 years, a calculation which, taking the date assigned by Lepsius for the foundation of the Temple B.C. 989, would place the Exodus in the year B.C. 1295, and therefore *not*, according to the same authority, within the reign of Menephtha. These measures, therefore, vary with the preconceived length of the period by different investigators. In this instance it is evidently founded not so much on evidence derived from an investigation of the history of the period, as on the supposition that the length of the interval had already been settled by Egyptian evidence. "For," he inquires, "if the Egyptian monuments and chronologies show that the Exodus must have taken place from 310 to 320 years before the building of the Temple, how are we to account for that same tradition making the interval extend to 440, 480, 593, and even 722 years?"[66]

And, again: "The Exodus can only have occurred between 1324 and 1320 (between the second and sixth years of Menephtha), according to the authentic history of the House of the Ramessides, and of Egypt, of which we are in possession."[67]

So that, in fact, the dates of the two events, the Exodus and the building of the Temple, being ascertained, the length of the intervening period is ascertained also, and the history given of that period must necessarily be made to conform to it.

77. As, however, the opinion that the Exodus is shown upon Egyptian evidence to have taken place in the reign of Menephtha is evidently erroneous, the length of the interval between

[66] Egypt, &c. vol. iii. p. 247. [67] Id. vol. iii. p. 274.

that event and the foundation of the Temple still remains to be determined. Lepsius, who has endeavoured to reconstruct the chronology of the period in question, divides its history into two portions, according as the number of years assigned to the different events of that history appears to be determinate and historical, or indeterminate and unhistorical. To the latter class belong the round numbers, 20, 40, and 80.

The numbers which are considered real and historical amount to 150 years, divided among twelve governments, five of foreign rule, and seven of native Judges. This gives an average of twelve years to each government. Then, as the period for which round and indeterminate numbers only are given, commencing with the forty years in the desert, and ending with the forty years of David, is divided into fourteen portions or governments, an average of twelve years to each of these fourteen governments produces a total of 168 years; and both periods together make up the number of 318 years as the measure of the time between the Exodus and the building of the Temple.

These 318 years added to B.C. 989, the date of the foundation of the Temple, gives for the date of the Exodus the year B.C. 1307, or within seven years of the date fixed upon by Lepsius for that event.

But it is obvious that the process by which these numbers have been obtained is altogether an arbitrary one. An average of only twelve years to the periods into which this history is divided is certainly too low, even if it were possible to apply an average obtained from an historical series to an unhistorical period of time.

78. The numbers attributed by the Hebrew writer to the judgeships of Othniel, Ehud, Barak, and Gideon, include periods of freedom from foreign servitude; and these last are not, in fact, capable of any chronological admeasurement. These embrace a distinct portion of the history of Israel, and must be treated separately.

| I. | Yrs. |
|---|---|
| Servitude under Chushan-rishathaim (Judges iii. 8) | 8 |
| Deliverance by Othniel, and 40 years' rest (iii. 11) | 40 |
| Servitude under the Moabites (iii. 14) . . . . . | 18 |
| Deliverance by Ehud, and 80 years' rest (iii. 30) . | 80 |
| Deliverance by Shamgar, no date (iii. 31) . . . | *x* |
| Servitude under Jabin (iv. 1) . . . . . | 20 |
| Deliverance by Barak and Deborah, and 40 years' rest (v. 31) . . . . . | 40 |
| Oppression by the Midianites (vi. 1) . . . . . | 7 |
| Deliverance by Gideon, and 40 years' rest (viii. 28) | 40 |

As Lepsius has observed, the periods of servitude and oppression are historical, the intervening periods of rest are given in a general way, and in numbers which must be indeterminate. This period must be separated from that which follows, in which the years assigned to the Judges have an historical character.

| II. | Yrs. |
|---|---|
| Abimelech . . . . . | 3 |
| Tola . . . . . | 23 |
| Jair . . . . . | 22 |
| Oppression by the Philistines . . . | 18 |
| Jephthah . . . . . | 6 |
| Ibzan . . . . . | 7 |
| Elon . . . . . | 10 |
| Abdon . . . . . | 8 |

Then commences a second indeterminate period:—

| III. | Yrs. |
|---|---|
| Oppression by the Philistines . . . | 40 |
| Samson . . . . . | 20 |
| Anarchy . . . . . | *x* |
| Eli . . . . . | 40 |
| Saul . . . . . | 20 |
| David . . . . . | 40 |

79. It is evident that these three periods cannot be subjected to a common treatment. The first period has nothing in common with the others, and the intervals in which the Israelites were free from foreign dominion are not measured by the lives of the Judges. If any average at all could be obtained, it would be by taking that of the sum of the averages of the three periods. Thus, the average for the first space of 253 years, divided into nine periods, is 28 years, that of the second 12, that of the third 26 years, and the average of the whole is 23 years, a much more probable one than that of 12 years for the whole period. If, then, we allot this average of 23 years to the fifteen governments of the unhistorical period, we obtain 345 years, which, added to the historical period of 97 years, gives us 442 years for the time included in the history of the Judges, exclusive of the period to be allotted to Joshua, and the time passed by the Israelites in the wilderness.

80. We cannot, however, rely upon the numbers to be obtained from the history given of the Hebrews, during the term of their rule by the Judges, as the events narrated are not given in chronological order. Josephus, employing the same materials, made the length of this interval at one time 592, at another 612 years.

81. The number of years allotted to the period in question by the writer of the Book of Kings, though open to doubt as to its exactness, from its evidently being a round number, and a multiple of 40, is as reliable as any number that can be extracted from the narrative in the Book of Judges; and there remains the possibility that it represents an uneven number not greatly differing from it, to which, in accordance with ancient custom, a complete and round form has been given.

82. Another and a far more important and trustworthy measure of the period from Moses to Solomon is supplied by the Hebrew genealogies. To these Lepsius very justly

attaches a very high value. He observes that, "in the East, at all times, and even to this day, the register of generations and genealogies is orally transmitted with a wonderful fidelity and completeness through the memories of perfectly illiterate and frequently, even now, nomadic races. The Israelites particularly, above all the nations of antiquity, appear to have laid the greatest stress upon the register of generations, lists of names, and general enumerations of tribes and generations. The writings of the Old Testament are full of them, especially all the historical books; and the care and exactitude which was expended on the general preparation of these lists is evident to the reader. We fortunately possess a whole array of genealogies for the period between the Exodus and the building of the Temple, and principally generations of priests which go back as far as Levi, and therefore the most to be depended upon."[68]

83. The average number of generations derived from six genealogies of the tribe of Levi, from that of the tribe of Judah and the series of the High Priests, is exactly ten and a half. Allowing the generally-received number of thirty years to a generation, we obtain from 300 to 330 years for the measure of the period between Solomon and the Exodus, which will place the date of the latter between the years B. C. 1289 and 1319, therefore in the reign of Menephtha I; and exactly ten and a half generations, or 315 years, are counted to the year B. C. 1304. If we were to reckon thirty-one years to a generation, we should arrive exactly at the year B. C. 1314, or the date Lepsius has fixed on for the Exodus. But this reckoning by generations from genealogies, is liable to grave errors. In a northern climate an average of thirty years to a generation may be tolerably correct, but is much too high for Orientals, in a climate where marriage takes place at from sixteen to eighteen years of age. An average of twenty

[68] Letters, &c. p. 459.

years to a generation would be high under such circumstances, counted from eldest son to eldest son. This would give only 250 years at most, which would be fatal to Lepsius' date for the Exodus.[69]

84. The argument of Lepsius admits that the number and the names of these ancestors are true, but denies any chronological value to the number of years over which they are said by the Hebrew writer to extend. This argument is more plainly put by Gliddon.[70]

"We know that unlettered Arabian Bédawees do preserve for centuries orally, from father to son, their individual and clannish genealogies; and this too, for an almost infinite number of generations. They even thus consecrate, legally, the pedigrees of their blood-horses. But as for defining the length of time each tribe, man, or horse may have lived, that, the Bédawee has no means of doing beyond his own grandfather's lifetime, and for which he has no annual calendar. Thus, in ante-Mahommedan history, 'the battle of Kazaz,' fought by the Maad tribes against the Yemenite confederacy, is the earliest standpoint of Arabian historical tradition; but the æra before *Islam*, to which such battle is assigned, has been computed for these wild children of the desert by later and highly cultivated Arab historians, and at best conjecturally.

"It would be foolish to deny to the sedentary and somewhat educated Hebrews of days anterior to the Captivity, equal faculties of preserving their own *genealogies*, that we recognise among cognate Semitic, and still more barbarous tribes of Arabia; nor is there any reason to doubt the existence of *genealogical lists* stretching backwards for many gene-

[69] Miss Corbaux calculates the period between the Exodus and the Foundation of the Temple at 280 years, which brings out her date of B. C. 1291 for the Exodus.

[70] Types of Mankind, by J. C. Nott, M.D., and G. R. Gliddon. London, 1854. Page 708.

rations from the days of Ezra. These may even have ascended, ancestor by ancestor, to the times of Abraham. But it was one thing to preserve, through saga, rhyme, song, or oral legend, the names of predecessors in their natural order; and quite another to guess at the duration of these ancestors' respective lifetimes, or to infer, through traditionary events, coetaneous with any of the earlier ancestors, the chronological remoteness of the age during which they lived, except approximately. In consequence, Lepsius—and we entirely agree with him—sustains that the *genealogies* of the Hebrews are probably right; but that the chronological computations accompanying these lists are certainly wrong."

85. According to this view the probable authenticity of the duration assigned by the Hebrew writer to the period between the Exodus and Solomon, turns upon the probability of the Hebrews being possessed of the means of registering events; in short, of the art of writing, at, or soon after, their settlement in Canaan.

Now, the tradition which Lepsius accepts as the true version of the Exodus, represents the leader of the emigration as a priest of Heliopolis, and that there were many Egyptian priests among those who quitted Egypt under Osarsiph or Moses. All these must undoubtedly have been well acquainted with the art of writing, not only picture writing or painting, but writing on paper with reed pens and coloured inks, in the hieratic or cursive character, which had then been in use in Egypt for centuries. The art of writing was not however, confined to the priests. The monuments show us stewards, farm-bailiffs and other servants, writing an account of the flocks, farm produce, or other matters under their charge.

The emigrants were, no doubt, deprived of the ordinary material used in writing, the papyrus, but this want was easily remedied. If the Hebrews left Egypt under Thothmes III, the art of writing had still been in common use for

centuries. The nations of the Cheta, or Hittites, of southern Canaan, are represented on the monuments as renewing a written treaty with Rameses II, which had been previously entered into by the predecessors on both sides about 100 years before the date given by Lepsius for the Exodus. This treaty appears to have been written on a tablet of silver, of which probably a duplicate had been in the custody of the Hittite kings, and was brought by Chet-asar, the then king of the Hittites, to the interview which took place between him and Rameses II, at the fortress of Rameses on the banks of the canal leading from the Nile to the Red Sea.[71] It is to be presumed that the Hittite king Chet-asar, or the priests of his country, could read the treaty on which they relied; we have therefore a proof of the knowledge of writing in southern Canaan in the fifteenth century B. C.[72]

86. It is impossible to deny, if it is admitted that the Hebrews were in Egypt at all, that this people very probably carried with them the art of writing, to at least a sufficient extent to enable them to register their lines of descent. It is admitted that unless they possessed this power of written registration, they might have retained the names of ancestors in memory by means of oral tradition; but no distinct recollection of ages or duration of life. But unless we are prepared to declare the whole series of the Hebrew genealogies to be a mere imposture, the forgery of a later age, there is evidence that these genealogies must have been written down. Many of them are very intricate, owing to their being traced in several instances through different mothers. In the line

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[71] Brugsch, Hist. d'Egypte, p. 146. Recueil des Mon. Egypt. part 1, p. 43.

[72] The name of the city Kiriath-Sepher, or Kiriath-Debir, the City of Words, or Books, in southern Canaan, mentioned in Joshua xv. 15, Judges i. 11, seems to indicate an acquaintance with the art of writing at an epoch earlier than that of Moses.

of David, we are told that Hezron, the grandson of Judah, married the daughter of Machir, son of Manasseh, when he was threescore years old; and she bare him Segub, the father of Jair the Judge.[73] The fact that Ashur was a posthumous son of Hezron is mentioned, and the names of the two successive wives of Hezron are given.[74] It is noticed of Seled and Jether, that they died without children.[75] We have the names of two wives and two concubines of Caleb, the son of Hezron, with the names of their several sons and their posterity.[76] We have the remarkable statement respecting Sheshan, a descendant of Hezron, that "he had no sons, but daughters; and Sheshan had a servant, an Egyptian, whose name was Jarha; and Sheshan gave his daughter to Jarha his servant to wife; and she bare him Attai."[77]

In short, these genealogies are not mere strings of names; and it is difficult to believe that their compilers had not some kind of written registers of descents preserved by the chiefs of the different tribes or families, and dating as far back as Caleb, the son of Hezron.

87. Lepsius has extracted a series of genealogies of families, chiefly Levitical, and a list of high priests, which give the following results:

| | Generations. |
|---|---|
| The genealogy of Asaph—from Levi to Asaph . | 12 |
| The genealogy of Ethan—from Levi to Ethan . | 11 |
| The genealogy of Zadok—from Levi to Zadok . | 11 |
| The genealogy of Heman—from Levi to Heman . | 10 |
| The genealogy of David—from Hezron to David . | 9 |
| The succession of High Priests—from Aaron to Zadok, according to Josephus . . . . . | 11 |

[73] 1 Chronicles ii. 21. [74] Id. ii. [75] Id. ii. 30, 32. [76] Id. [77] Id. ii. 34, 35.

The ancestors of David up to Hezron, inclusive, who was the son of Pharez, the son of Judah, are comprised in nine generations. This genealogy, *which is repeated four times*, twice in the Old, and twice in the New Testament,[78] was too important a matter to permit us to assume either omission or mistake.

88. It must be taken as proved, that there were no more than nine generations in this descent; and it follows that the time represented by these nine generations, is the same within a very few years, as that represented by the twelve generations of Asaph, or the eleven of Zadok. Of this fact, the writer of the first Book of Kings could not have been ignorant when he assigned the number of 480 years to the time occupied in the one case by twelve, in the other by nine generations. It is clear, therefore, that he could not have obtained this number by a computation of 40, 30, or any other fixed average number of years to a generation. He must either have found this gross sum of 480, or, according to the LXX, 440 years, already attributed to the period between Moses and Solomon, and must have known that it coincided with the period occupied by the nine descents of David from Hezron, or he must himself have had the means of arriving at it as the measure of the period indicated. This means, the Jewish chroniclers must be taken to have possessed, as there can be no doubt that they were acquainted with the art, and supplied with materials for writing, as early as the time of Moses, while the whole tenor of the Hebrew history shows that accurate records were preserved of the duration of the lives of individuals, and the age of the father at the birth of the children respectively. In this the Hebrews did not differ from other nations of Semitic origin, though their peculiar social policy and organization placed them in the most favourable circumstances for preserving by written

[78] Ruth iv. 18; 1 Chron. ii. 4-13; Matthew i. 3-6; Luke iii. 32, 33.

documents, the important evidence of tribal descent, which the Sheiks of the desert still preserve with an extraordinary accuracy for periods much more extended than nine generations. In fact, the number of these generations, and the time occupied by them, is so short, that it is more difficult to believe that a Hebrew chief should not have known the names and ages of his nine or ten immediate ancestors, than to believe that he knew their names and their true ages with perfect accuracy.

89. It is, moreover, evident that these genealogical lists do not represent generations only in the technical sense of the term; but lines of descent which were in numerous instances carried on through younger sons, born when the father had arrived at an advanced age. There runs, indeed, through Hebrew history, a curious order of preference for the younger son over the elder, which has not been taken into sufficient account. Thus Jacob was preferred to Esau; Ephraim, the younger son of Joseph, was preferred by Jacob in his blessing, to Manasseh the elder;[79] the lot fell on the youngest tribe, that of Benjamin, for the choice of the first king; David was the seventh and youngest son of Jesse, Solomon was the tenth and youngest son of David. Where polygamy prevails, the line of descent must often be traced through the son of a younger wife, taken at an advanced period of the father's life.

90. If, as Lepsius proposes, we reject the number furnished by the Hebrew text of 1 Kings, 480 years, as a number rendered suspicious in consequence of its being a round number and a multiple of 40, and the number 440, furnished by the LXX, as the measure of the same period, for a like reason, still we cannot admit the existence of an error amounting to anything like 155, or even 115 years in the calculation.

We are bound to conclude from the whole tenor of these

[79] Genesis xlviii. 13-19.

family histories, that the descent of Solomon from Judah was a matter perfectly capable of being ascertained, and that the writer of the Book of Kings, even if as late as the time of Ezra, had some better ground for his calculation that 480 years had elapsed between Solomon and the Exodus, than a mere arbitrary assumption of twelve generations of forty years each, which he must have known, in the case of the descent of the most venerated of the Hebrew monarchs, was an error patent on the face of all the historical documents, and which could not possibly have escaped detection.

91. We observe also, that as far as can be gathered from the history contained in the Book of Judges, the measure of the period between the Exodus and Solomon must be estimated at more than 400 years; that the probable measure ranges between 440 and 480 years; the time allotted by the Hebrew text and the LXX. respectively. It seems very probable that the real number lay between these two; that the one authority has increased, and the other diminished the number, in order to convert it into the ordinary multiple of 40.

If, then, we take the mean of the two numbers given by the Hebrew text of the 1 Kings and the LXX, that is, 460 years, and count back from the year of the Foundation of the Temple, B. C. 989, we arrive at the year B. C. 1444, *for the date of the Hebrew Exodus.*

92. Now, it has been shown that the expulsion of the Shepherds as related by Manetho took place under the reign of Thothmes III, and that in accordance with the evidence afforded by the inscription on the Calendar fragment of Elephantine, this event must have taken place between the years B. C. 1445 and 1431. This calculation of the date of the Shepherd Exodus *is based on Egyptian evidence only*, having no reference to the Hebrew narrative, or to any numbers contained in the Old Testament.

The calculation which places the Hebrew Exodus at about

the year B. C. 1444, *is based entirely on Hebrew evidence*, without reference to the Egyptian traditions, or the history of the Hyksos.

Two perfectly distinct and independent chains of evidence, widely separated at one extremity, meet in a point—the migration of a foreign people from Egypt about the year B. C. 1445.

THE EGYPTIAN EVIDENCE demonstrates an Exodus at that epoch, of a Shepherd people of foreign origin, who had been located in the Delta, and in, or in the neighbourhood of the city of Tanis or Zoan. This people, on departing from Egypt with all their cattle and possessions, settled in Palestine and built the city of Jerusalem.

THE HEBREW EVIDENCE demonstrates the Exodus from Egypt at the same epoch, of the children of Israel, a shepherd people of foreign origin, located in the Delta, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the city of Tanis, or "the field of Zoan," who, with all their cattle and possessions, departed from Egypt, and finally settled in Palestine, and built the city of Jerusalem.

93. It is impossible to doubt that these are one and the same event, the remembrance of which has been preserved alike in Egyptian and in Hebrew tradition, and that the expulsion of the Hyksos related by Manetho, is the Egyptian history of the Exodus of the Hebrews, related by the writer of the Book of Exodus, and that the true date of this event is about B. C. 1445.

## CHAPTER VI.

*The Date of the Builder of the Great Pyramid.*

1.

ONE of the principal results of the foregoing investigations has been to reduce the length of the so-called Hyksos period, or Middle Empire, from a variable amount of from five to nine or ten centuries, to a period of about 260 years. This result in no way affects, or is affected by the date of the Hebrew Exodus, which it has been shown falls in the reign of Thothmes III, and about the middle of the fifteenth century B.C., though it materially affects the date of the entry of Joseph into Egypt, if we assume, with the Hebrew text, that the duration of the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt was 400 or 430 years.

The settlement of this question however, the length of the Hyksos period, is an absolutely essential preliminary to any speculations upon the age of the pyramids.

2. The ruins of nearly seventy of these monuments have been discovered, stretching over a space of several miles on the western or Libyan side of the Nile, from Abu Rooash north of Memphis to the district of the Fayoum, which may be looked upon as the monuments of royal sepulchres, and as indicating for the most part the tombs of individual kings.

The construction of these monuments must, therefore, of necessity comprise a very considerable period of time, though it by no means follows that the sixty or seventy kings for whom pyramids have been erected reigned in a successive order of time. Tradition, indeed, assigns to those earliest kings, whose epoch lies without the boundary of history, the erection of these sepulchral monuments so peculiar to that early period of Egyptian life which is usually denominated the Old Empire. A king of the first of the Manethonian dynasties, one of the Thinite sovereigns, is said to have built pyramids in Chochome, but his name, Ouennephes, and that of his successor, Usaphaes, seem to be but traditional applications to this earliest period, of the names of the two renowned builders of the Great Pyramids at Gizeh, Souphis, or Shufu, and Neph-Shufu, of the fourth or Great Memphite Pyramid-building dynasty. The Egyptian tradition as delivered by Manetho, and reported by the Greeks, may be said to carry down the Pyramid-building dynasties from the first to the close of the twelfth inclusive, covering a period variously estimated at from 1000 to 2500 years. For, though Manetho does not expressly state that his La-mares, a king of the twelfth dynasty, was the builder of a pyramid, he ascribes to him the building of the Labyrinth, with the builders of which the Greek traditions have connected the building of a pyramid; and, in fact, the Pyramid of Mœris still stands in close proximity to the ruins of the Labyrinth. The hieroglyphic inscriptions, likewise, attach to the names of two kings of the twelfth dynasty, Amenemha I. and Sesortasen II, symbols which indicate that they were constructors of such monuments.

3. As the Pyramid-building epoch certainly extends over a considerable period of time, the termination of which is known, but its commencement unknown, we must select some fixed point around which the computation of the period may revolve, and for this purpose the æra of the builder of the

Great Pyramid, Cheops or Shufu, presents these advantages, that the monument itself is well known, and its builder is an undoubtedly historical personage.

In the endeavour to ascertain this æra we shall start from the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty, the date of which has already been fixed by the date ascertained from the Elephantinæan inscription. Between this point and the æra of Shufu of the Great Pyramid, two great chasms in Egyptian history occur, the Hyksos period of which we have before spoken, and the period which elapsed between the twelfth and the sixth of the Manethonian dynasties.

4. We will deal first with the latter period, having already shown the probable duration of the former. For the examination of this period we possess, in addition to the lists of Manetho, the written testimony of the Egyptian priests, as preserved in two different documents, the Egyptian royal register called the Tablet of Abydos, and the Greek list made out by or for Eratosthenes from the Theban archives, in addition to such information as we may gather from the ancestral chamber of Karnac.

For this period between the close of the sixth dynasty and the commencement of the twelfth, the lists of Manetho present us with a space of nearly eight centuries, in which it is represented that the reigns of 153 kings were registered in the Egyptian records, though only one, and that a doubtful name, has been preserved.

| | Kings. | | Yrs. | Days. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Seventh dynasty . . | 70 | reigned . | 0 | 70 |
| Eighth dynasty . . . | 29 | reigned . | 146 | 0 |
| Ninth dynasty . . . | 19 | reigned . | 409 | 0 |
| Tenth dynasty . . . | 19 | reigned . | 185 | 0 |
| Eleventh dynasty . . | 16 | reigned . | 43 | 0 |
| | 153 | | 783 | 70 |

5. It is universally admitted that some at least of these dynasties were contemporaneous, and the only difference of opinion is as to which are to be struck out of the successional series. Lepsius strikes out the sixth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh, believing that the sixth dynasty reigned at Elephantine, and the eleventh at Thebes, at the same time that the fifth, seventh, and eighth dynasties were reigning at Memphis, and the ninth and tenth at Heracleopolis in the Delta.

Bunsen strikes out the ninth and tenth dynasties of Heracleopolites only, and holds fast by the rest; Brugsch rejects the seventh, ninth, and tenth, while Mr. Poole considers all the dynasties from the sixth to the seventeenth, both inclusive, to have been all more or less contemporaneous.

All these writers are, however, more or less agreed in rejecting the authority of Manetho on this point, and in reducing his eight centuries for this period to less than two.

6. As these two dynasties, the sixth and the twelfth, both contain the names of well known kings, which also constantly recur on a variety of monuments, there ought to exist the means of forming from such evidence an approximative estimate of the length of the period which separates them.

7. The prominent figure in the sixth dynasty is Phiops, Apappus, or Pepi, one of the most celebrated monarchs of the Old Empire. There was evidently a well founded tradition of his long life and reign, which was known and recorded in the Royal Papyrus of the fourteenth century B.C.; Manetho reports that he ascended the throne at six years of age, and reigned 100 years; the list of Eratosthenes attributes to him a reign of the same duration, and a fragment of the Turin Papyrus contains a notice of a reign of ninety-four years of a king, whom, though the name is destroyed, we know from the notice of the succeeding reign must have been this same monarch.

8. This celebrated monarch, of whom many monumental notices exist, is constantly associated in the inscriptions with

a king Teti, and another named Menthotep Nebtura, who appear to have been contemporaneous with him.[1]

The prænomen, or throne-name of king Pepi, is Mai-ra, which, as we see from the Greek lists of Manetho and Eratosthenes, would be rendered in Greek by Mares, or Mœris. There can be no doubt that this king is the Mœris of the Greeks, the first builder of the Labyrinth, which was continued, and perhaps completed, by the kings of the twelfth dynasty; he was also the reputed creator of the celebrated Lake Mœris, or Sea of the Fayoum.

The chief city of the Arsinoite nome in the district of Fayoum was Crocodilopolis, and on a bronze tablet in the British Museum Pepi has the title of "he who loves or is beloved of the crocodiles."[2]

Pliny relates that the Labyrinth was built by king Petesuchis, who was also called Tithoes, "Petesucho sive Tithoe." M. Bunsen proposes to convert the words "sive Tithoe" into Seveknofre, the last sovereign of the twelfth dynasty; but this kind of criticism, which changes names at pleasure, may be carried too far. Associated with this Maira-Pepi, we constantly find on the monuments a king Teti, his predecessor at Karnac. Petesuchis means the servant of, or devoted to, Sevek, or the crocodile, and resembles the title given to Pepi in the British Museum tablet.

9. Herodotus says, "Mœris built the northern propylæa of the Temple of Vulcan at Memphis, and also excavated the lake which bears his name."

Diodorus gives a tradition that "Mendes, or, as some call him, Marrus, built the Labyrinth." Again, "Mendes, who built Crocodilopolis, being pursued by his own hounds, threw himself into Lake Mœris and was saved by a crocodile. He also built the Labyrinth and the Pyramid, in which he was

[1] Bunsen's Egypt, vol. ii. p. 202.
[2] Birch, Gallery of Antiquities in British Museum.

interred." It has been already mentioned that a king Menthotep is found on the monuments associated with Maira-Pepi, and the first part of this name is that of the god Mendes.

In these Greek traditions, then, of the building of the Labyrinth, and the excavation of the Lake Mœris, we have three names which are clearly those of the three kings who are found associated together in a peculiar manner on the monuments:—

Mares, Mœris, Marrus = Maira-Pepi.
Mendes . . . . . = Ment-hotep.
Tithoes . . . . . = Teti.

To which we may perhaps add Petesuchis, as equivalent to one of the titles of Pepis.

10. That this king Phiops-Pepi, the Apappus of Eratosthenes, whose throne-name is Maira, was the Mœris of the Greeks, and the king to whom tradition attributed the first commencement of the Labyrinth, was the original opinion of Baron Bunsen.[3] He afterwards changed it, on finding that Lepsius had discovered the name of Amenemha III. among the ruins of the Labyrinth; and thenceforward attributed that building to this latter monarch.[3] The throne-name of Amenemha III. may be read Ra-en-ma, or Ma-en-ra, and he is therefore supposed to be the Mœris of the Greeks, as Manetho no doubt places a Lamares in the twelfth dynasty as the builder of the Labyrinth, and Eratosthenes has a king Mares in the same position.

The name of king Amenemha III. was found by Lepsius in a chamber in front of the pyramid of the Labyrinth, whence he concludes that this king was the builder of the monument, though he does not believe that the Lake of Mœris took its name from any king Mares, but is simply the

[3] Egypt. Stelle, &c. German edition, bd. ii. pp. 193, 224, &c.

Egyptian word for water, or the inundation, "Meri," an opinion which deprives the suggestion that Ma-en-ra is the Mœris of the Greeks, of all value. The evidence, however, is conclusive that the Greeks were informed and believed, whether rightly or wrongly, that a king Mœris was the founder of the Labyrinth and the excavator of the lake of that name. The most probable opinion is, that the work was commenced by the long-lived king Phiops-Pepi, continued by his successors and the kings of the twelfth dynasty, by one of whom, to whom Manetho or his compiler has erroneously given the name of La-mares, the Labyrinth was completed. Manetho does not mention the lake, or attribute it to this king; and it is certain that the lake must have been completed, the land drained, and the canals formed, before the Labyrinth was built.

11. It is clear that an interval of no very long duration separates the kings of the sixth from those of the twelfth dynasty, though we have no means of accurately measuring its duration. This interval was filled up for Thebes and Upper Egypt by the Antefs and Ment-hoteps; but of those who ruled at Memphis and in Lower Egypt, we know nothing. Manetho evidently intended to represent these latter by his two Heracleopolitan dynasties. Although these two dynasties are generally supposed to have belonged to Heracleopolis Parva, in the northern Delta, it is most probable from the only notice respecting them, preserved by Africanus, that they really reigned in the Heracleopolitan nome in Middle Egypt.

"Acthoes," he says, "of the ninth dynasty, was a most cruel king, and oppressed the Egyptians more than any of his predecessors. Being seized with madness he was destroyed by a crocodile."

Now the inhabitants of the Heracleopolitan nome were worshippers of the Ichneumon, the destroyer of the crocodile, and were in constant deadly feud with their immediate

neighbours, the inhabitants of the Arsinoite nome, in which stood the city of Crocodilopolis, who were worshippers of the crocodile. The statement that this Heracleopolitan king was killed by a crocodile is probably nothing more than a Greek version of the Egyptian statement that he was slain by a Petesuchis or a Sevekhotep, a king of the neighbouring hostile city and province of Crocodilopolis.

This Acthoes who is represented by Manetho as a most cruel king and oppressor, is considered by Bunsen as the same with a king Actisanes, mentioned by Diodorus, who calls him an Ethiopian, and represents him as a mild and humane ruler, who overthrew and succeeded a tyrant named Ammosis.[4]

12. The list of Eratosthenes fills up this space between the close of the sixth and the commencement of the twelfth dynasty, with the names of nine kings and a total of 166 years.[5] This number is accepted by Lepsius as the measure of the interval, evidently upon the authority of Eratosthenes, for in fact no other exists. But if Eratosthenes is to be our guide for this interval, there is no reason why he should not be accepted also as a guide for the interval between the end of the sixth dynasty and Shufu, the builder of the Great Pyramid, which Eratosthenes fills up with seven names and 233 years to the end of the reign of Shufu.

If upon these data we endeavour to fix the date of the building of the Great Pyramid, we should have to place it $233 + 166 = 399$ years before the commencement of the twelfth dynasty; or, if the building of the Great Pyramid is to be attributed rather to Neph-Shufu, the Cephrenes of Herodotus, than to Shufu-Cheops, this sum must be decreased

[4] This seems like a Lower Egyptian tradition read backwards. Actsan, the ruler of Tsan or Tanis, was conquered by Amōsis, and human sacrifices are said to have been abolished by the latter.

[5] The last of these kings, the thirty-first of the list, Peteathures, is probably one of the Antefs; the signs in the throne-name of Antef the Great seems to contain the name Petathor.

by twenty-seven years, the duration attributed to the reign of the latter king by the list of Eratosthenes; and if we were to continue this process, and add the remaining numbers in Eratosthenes up to Menes—404 years—we should place the æra of Menes and the commencement of Egyptian history 569 years before the commencement of the reign of Pepi-Apappus, and 842 years before the commencement of the twelfth dynasty. This is the process adopted by Bunsen, and also by Lepsius, except that the latter has preferred the numbers of Manetho to those of Eratosthenes, and consequently retains in his chronological series the second dynasty, which Bunsen has rejected as collateral. But there is manifestly in either case a grave error, for the æra of Menes, being necessarily a fictitious one, no means exist for defining the limit between the prehistorical and the historical times of Egypt.

Admitting the authority of the list of Eratosthenes, for the duration of the reigns of the historical kings from the fourth dynasty downwards, we still have no means of computing the æra of these kings, until we have satisfactorily settled the disputed question of the duration of the Hyksos period.

13. As far as we have yet gone, we have only shown that the Old Chronicle and the Greek traditions identify the Hyksos kings of Manetho with the Tanite dynasty of the Old Chronicle, and that the duration of that dynasty being not more than 260 years, that must be the measure of the Hyksos period. It may be admitted that unless that assumption can be supported by other satisfactory evidence, it can lay claim to little value, when opposed to the authority of Lepsius, and the opinion of all other investigators of this subject. But if it can be shown that this assumption accords with the chronological scale adopted by Eratosthenes, on the data supplied to him by the Theban hierogrammates, this probability will be converted into almost a certainty, and

we shall have recovered the true Egyptian dates for the Hyksos period, for the æra of the Great Pyramid, and for the events intervening between those two points of the scale.

14. The list of Eratosthenes preserved by Syncellus, was a Theban list, that is to say, we are informed by Syncellus, on the authority of Apollodorus, that Eratosthenes caused it to be prepared by the Theban hierogrammates or sacred scribes, from the registers of the temple at Thebes. It consisted originally of ninety-one names, thirty-eight only of which have been preserved. These thirty-eight names of kings, represented as having been inscribed in the Theban registers, as ruling in continuous succession, are brought down from Menes or the commencement of the first dynasty of Manetho, to, as it is supposed, the close of the twelfth dynasty. The remaining fifty-three names, which Apollodorus did not think it worth while to preserve, were no doubt the names of the remaining Theban kings, registered at Thebes, down to the close of Egyptian history with Nectanebo in B. C. 340.

The sum of the reigns of the thirty-eight kings whose names are preserved in this list, is 1076 years, comprising the first twelve dynasties of the list of Manetho. This cannot be the true measure of the period, because the list of Eratosthenes, like every other Egyptian list, must necessarily have had its commencement fixed at some unhistorical arbitrarily fixed point. We see, in fact, that out of the thirty-eight names in this list, which comprises a period of 1076 years, and the first twelve dynasties of Manetho, no less than *seven*, or nearly one-fifth of the whole, are names of kings belonging to *one* dynasty only, and that the *first* of Manetho.

15. The list necessarily commences with the name of MENES, the great ancestor, the eponymous founder of Memphis, the deified bull-god of Heliopolis, *Mnevis;* the first law-giver, builder of cities, drainer of marshes, conqueror of foreign nations; the first author of the prosperity of Egypt,

who sprung from the sacred city of This in Upper Egypt, descended the Nile to unite both Egypts under one sceptre, and having accomplished his great and beneficent mission, was finally, by the river-god, in the form of a hippopotamus, carried away from among mortals.

16. It is obvious that though the Theban registers from which the list of Eratosthenes was compiled may have been correctly framed as to the duration of the reigns of historical kings, the Theban scribes could have been in possession of no genuine history for that floating period, which they began with Menes, and placed at the commencement of a Sothic cycle. It is to the literati of the College of Sacred Scribes at Thebes in the commencement of the fourteenth century B. C., the most flourishing period of Egyptian literature, that we probably owe this system of placing the commencement of Egyptian history at the commencement of a Sothic period. It is to this epoch that the Royal Papyrus of Turin belongs, and most of the literary works of the Egyptians with which we are acquainted. To these Theban writers also, most probably, belongs the statement that a line of Thinite princes of Upper Egypt, and from its peculiarly holy city, first laid the foundations of the capital of Lower Egypt, and first ruled over the northern as well as the southern division of the land.[6]

17. Although the 1076 years allotted by the list of Eratosthenes to the period from Menes to the close of the twelfth dynasty cannot be the true measure of that period, yet it may be affirmed, with some confidence, that it was the measure ascribed to it by the Theban priests, transmitted to them by their predecessors from a time as early at least as the fourteenth century B. C. and by them delivered to Eratosthenes.

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[6] The opinion first put forth by Mr. Osburn, Antiquities of Egypt, p. 182, that for *Thinites* we ought to read *Tanites*, and that Menes was a king of Tanis in the Delta, indicating a migration of the first settlers in Egypt from the north-east, has been followed by Mr. Palmer, Egyptian Chronicles.

18. There exists an ancient register of provincial kings, supposed descendants of Menes, and probably petty kings or hierarchs of the holy state of Abydos, made by the priests in the reign of Rameses II, in the early part of the fourteenth century B.C. This list, called the Tablet of Abydos, contains the names of thirty-nine kings, for the same period for which the list of Eratosthenes has thirty-eight, and is therefore, in all probability, a nearly coincident measure of the same period, and which, though not carried through the same individuals, represents the same number of generations. Of this list, originally containing thirty-nine names in two rows, the thirteen first names of the upper, and the first seven of the lower, are altogether destroyed, leaving nineteen names which may be compared with those of the list of Eratosthenes.

| *List of Eratosthenes.* | *List of Abydos.* |
|---|---|
| 14. Biuris. | 14. . . . neter-ka. |
| 15. Saophis. | 15. Men-ka-ra. |
| 16. Saophis II. | 16. Nofre-ka-ra. |
| 17. Moscheres. | 17. Nofre-ka-ra-Nebi. |
| 18. Mosthes. | 18. Tet-ka-ra. |
| 19. Pammes. | 19. Nofre-ka-ra-Khentib. |
| 20. Apappus. | 20. Mer-en-har. |
| 21. Ekeskosokaras. | 21. Snofre-ka. |
| 22. Nitokris. | 22. Ka-en-ra. |
| 23. Murtaios. | 23. Nofre-ka-ra. Re-rer. |
| 24. Thuosi-mares. | 24. . . . nofre-ka. |
| 25. Sethinilos. | 25. Nofre-ka-en-seb. Pepi. |
| 26. Semphroukrates. | 26. Snofre-ka. Annu. |
| 27. Chouther Tauros. | 27. (destroyed.) |
| 28. Meures. | 28. (destroyed.) |
| 29. Chomaephtha. | 29. (destroyed.) |
| 30. Soikounios. | 30. (destroyed.) |
| 31. Peteathures. | 31. (destroyed.) |

| *List of Eratosthenes.* | *List of Abydos.* |
|---|---|
| | 32. (destroyed.) |
| 32. Amenemes. | 33. (destroyed.) *Amenemha I.*<br>34. (destroyed.) *Sesortasen I.* |
| 33. Amenemes II. | 35. Amenemha II.<br>36. Sesortasen II. |
| 34. Sistosichermes. | 37. Sesortasen III. |
| 35. Mares. | 38. Amenemha III.<br>39. Amenemha IV. |
| 36. Siphoas. | (40. Aahmes, first king of |
| 37. Phrouoro-Nileus. | the eighteenth dy- |
| 38. Amouthartaios. | nasty.) |

19. As the earlier names of the Tablet of Abydos are destroyed, it cannot be positively affirmed that it commenced with the name of Menes, though no doubt can exist that it did so. At that point, and perhaps for the following six or seven names, it must have coincided with the list of Eratosthenes, but, as far as we can see, it was carried down through a different series of individuals from those named in the Greek list. The points at which it might have been expected to coincide with that list, are the names of the kings of the fourth and sixth dynasties; but, although the fifteenth king of the Abydos list, Men-ka-ra, corresponds in place to Saophis of the fourth dynasty in Eratosthenes, the name is differently written from that of the Mencheres of the Third Pyramid, belonging to the fourth dynasty. As the one list contains thirty-eight, and the other thirty-nine names for the same period, if the lists corresponded at all, the names should occupy corresponding places in the two series; and the names Phiops-Apappus, and Nitokris, are certainly omitted altogether from the Tablet of Abydos.

This want of coincidence between the names of the two

lists gives a peculiar value to the Tablet of Abydos as an independent and concurrent testimony to the fact that the Egyptian registrars placed from thirty-eight to thirty-nine generations between Menes and the close of the twelfth dynasty, of, according to the data in the Greek list, about twenty-four years to a generation. We may, then, venture to affirm that the Theban priests, in the third century B.C., constructed for Eratosthenes a list of the Egyptian kings on the same principle as that on which their predecessors in the fourteenth century B.C. had constructed the list of the Temple at Abydos.

20. The want of correspondence between the names of the kings of the Tablet of Abydos and those given by Eratosthenes and Manetho, also demonstrates that we have in this tablet a list of kings of whom the greater number ruled neither at Thebes nor Memphis, but merely at Abydos. The chief object of the representation was no doubt to show the descent of the Ramessides, through the direct line of the Thinite descendants of Menes, from the great founder of the Egyptian empire. To suppose that all these were imperial sovereign kings of both Egypts, from Migdol to Syene, is to import unnecessary difficulties into the consideration of a subject already sufficiently obscure. The history of Egypt, down at least to the twelfth dynasty, is evidently a history of provincial kings, occasionally crushed into cohesion by a powerful hand.[7]

And, although it is probable that in the metropolitan cities

[7] M. de Rougé, "Mémoire sur le Tombeau d'Aahmes," has laboured with great learning to show that the signs of the "plant and bee," prefixed to the prænomen of a king, signify that he was king both of Upper and Lower Egypt. Horapollo says that the bee signifies "an obedient people," and, though his authority is of little weight, the explanation seems in this instance a very probable one. But that these signs have no real meaning, and are merely common forms of royal titular prefixes, must be admitted by all who recognise the names of contemporary kings in names to which these symbols are prefixed. The example of Skennen-ra alone is sufficient to decide the question.

of Thebes and Memphis the name of the king who was powerful enough to cause his royal sway to be respected in both cities, would be inscribed in the registers at both places, it is not probable that such would be the case in the less important districts. No one would expect to find the name of a king of France, as king, in a list of the dukes of Bretagne or of Normandy.

From the conquest of Lower Egypt by the kings of the eighteenth dynasty downwards, a united Egypt under kings who ruled at once at Thebes and at Memphis is an historical fact; for the period of the twelfth dynasty it may also be considered most probable; but for the times anterior to the twelfth dynasty the condition of Egypt must have been that of a federation of petty kingdoms, among whom we cannot discern a central superior authority, though occasionally an individual sovereign appears to have attained to a position of supremacy over the rest.

21. This is precisely the converse of the proposition advanced by M. Bunsen, that no kings were inserted in the Theban register but those who had reigned at once over Upper and Lower Egypt. To prove that proposition it was necessary to show that the kings of the list of Eratosthenes were to be found in the list of Manetho, where the dynasties of the latter were complete, and in this proof he has altogether failed.

It has been supposed that where kings whom the monuments show to have ruled in Upper Egypt, are known also to have been in possession of the copper mines of the Peninsula of Sinai, they must have ruled in Lower as well as in Upper Egypt. But this is clearly an error. The road to the copper mines was not through the desert round the head of the Gulf of Suez, but by the valley of the Hamamaut and from the modern port of Cosseir, or near it, across the Red Sea. The petty kings of Coptos, the Menthoteps and Neferhoteps, appear at one time as hereditary masters of the route, and no

doubt held it, just as a Bedouin tribe would hold it at this day if the central power of the Egyptian pacha were withdrawn.

22. We possess only the first portion of the list of Eratosthenes, comprising thirty-eight names out of the ninety-one which it originally contained, but the remaining portion must have been constructed on the same principle; and, in order to obtain an approximative estimate of the time allotted by the list of Eratosthenes to the remaining portion of Egyptian history, we may compare his numbers for the early portion with those of Manetho. We see that for the period comprised in the first book of Manetho, from Menes to the first king of the twelfth dynasty, Manetho gives 2284 years[8] to be compared with 842 years allotted by the list of Eratosthenes to the same period.

23. If the same relative proportion existed between the numbers of Eratosthenes and those of the second book of Manetho as for those of the first book, the list of the former would give about 780 years for the 2121 of Manetho. For the period comprised in the third book, from the commencement of the twentieth dynasty with Rameses III, to the end of the thirtieth with Nectanebo, Eratosthenes would have no difficulty in the reckoning, as he had merely to compute from the commencement of the current Sothic cycle to the second Persian conquest by Ochus, with the date of which he must have been well acquainted; for this period, therefore, he must have allowed 960 years.

| | Manetho. | Eratosthenes. |
|---|---|---|
| First book . | 2284 years. | 842 years. |
| Second book | 2121 years. | 780 years. |
| Third book . | 1050 years. | 960 years. |
| | 5455 years. | 2582 years. |

[8] The sum of the first book of Manetho is 2300 years, from which the sixteen years of Ammenemes, first king of the twelfth dynasty, are to be subtracted.

This is, of course, only an approximative result, which cannot be expected to be correct within 100 or 150 years; and, in order to test its value, we ought to ascertain the epoch from which the numbers of the list of Eratosthenes commenced to run.

24. Now, if the views which have been put forward in this investigation of the systems of Egyptian chronology are correct, the list of Eratosthenes, being an Egyptian chronicle compiled by the Egyptian priests, must have been made to commence with the commencement of a Sothic cycle. If we assume for this list that the commencement of the cycle which began B.C. 2782 was, as has been shown to have been the case for one edition of the Old Chronicle, that which was adopted by the Theban priests for the æra of Menes:—

| | B.C. |
|---|---|
| Commencement of the Sothic cycle . | 2782 |
| Period from Menes to Nectanebo . . | 2582 years. |
| | 200 |

we find that the calculation of the time supposed by a comparison of the relative proportions of the numbers of Manetho and Eratosthenes to have been given by the latter for his whole series of ninety-one kings, is too great by 140 years. But this result is quite near enough to the correct number to show that we are upon the right track, and that the first year of Menes in the Theban list procured by Eratosthenes was in truth placed by the Theban priests at the year B.C. 2782.

25. Assuming this to be so, the dates of Eratosthenes for the salient points in the chronology of the Old Empire are as follows:—

| | B.C. |
|---|---|
| Menes . . . . . | 2782 |
| Saophis, builder of the Great Pyramid, the first year of his reign . . . . . | 2368 |
| Completion of Great Pyramid, about . . | 2340 |

| | B. C. |
|---|---|
| Apappus, Pepi of the sixth dynasty, the first year of his reign . . . . . | 2213 |
| Nitokris, the queen to whom the Third Pyramid was ascribed, first year. . . | 2112 |
| Amenemha I, first king of the twelfth dynasty, first year . . . . . | 1941 |
| Mares, thirty-fifth king of Eratosthenes, last year of his reign . . . . . | 1794 |
| Close of the list of Eratosthenes . . . | 1707 |

26. To test the value of the assumption that these are the dates contained in the list of Eratosthenes, we will start from the opposite point of the scale, and the fixed date afforded for the reign of Thothmes III. by the inscription of the Calendar of Elephantine.

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Commencement of eighteenth dynasty (1445 + 80) . . . . . B. C. | 1525 |
| Dynasty of Tanite kings according to Old Chronicle (190 + 103) . . . . . | 293 |
| Duration of twelfth dynasty according to the Turin Papyrus . . . . . | 214 |
| First year of Amenemha I.. . . . . | 2032 |

which is thus placed ninety-one years higher than the date found for the same king in the list of Eratosthenes.

But this approximation, which, considering that the date for the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty cannot be absolutely fixed to within thirty years by the calendar date of Elephantine, is very remarkable, may be brought still closer.

The time which Manetho, according to Josephus, gives to the Shepherd kings whom he names, is 260 years.

The time which Manetho, in Africanus, allots to the twelfth dynasty, is 176 years.

Now these numbers, 260 + 176 + 1525, bring us to B. C. 1961, or only twenty years above the date of Eratosthenes, for the commencement of the twelfth dynasty. And these twenty years may be subtracted from the duration of the twelfth dynasty, if we suppose, as is very probable, that the later kings of that dynasty were contemporaneous in Middle and Upper Egypt with the first kings of the Tanite dynasty. For the list of Eratosthenes seems to give the real close of the twelfth dynasty with its thirty-fifth king, Mares, who must be taken to be the same with the La-mares of Manetho, the reputed builder of the Labyrinth, and therefore the same with the Amenemha IV. of the monuments.

27. This was the view taken by Bunsen in his comparison of the list of Eratosthenes with that of Manetho, and with the Turin Papyrus, who referred the last three kings of Eratosthenes to the commencement of the thirteenth dynasty. There is, however, one king who must be a successor of Mares, who was sufficiently important to be introduced into the Karnac representation, though his name does not appear in the list of Abydos. This is the king Seveknofre, who is generally supposed to correspond to the Skemiophris of Manetho, represented in the list of Africanus as a queen, the sister of an Amenemes.

The last three kings of Eratosthenes are—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| 36. Siphoas, who is also Hermes, the son of Hephaistos, reigned . . . . . | 5 |
| 37. Phrouoro, who is Nileus, reigned . . . | 19 |
| 38. Amouthartaios, reigned . . . . . | 63 |

The Greek interpretation, "son of Hephaistos" for "Siphoas, who is also Hermes," indicates either that the name Siphoas is a corruption of Siphtha, or that the interpretation is founded on a mistaken supposition that the name should have been written Siphtha instead of Siphoas. It seems very probable that the name was originally written Sevek-os,

and that Siphoas is a corruption of this name, which represents that of the Seveknofre of the monuments.

The second name, Phrouoro, recalls the Pheron, son of Sesostris, mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus.

The importance of the twelfth dynasty, however, evidently ceased with Mares, who is represented in the Tablet of Abydos as Amenemha IV.

. Or, if the thirty-first king of the list of Eratosthenes, Peteathures,[9] with a reign of sixteen years, represents the first king of the twelfth dynasty, whose position in the list of Manetho is peculiar, being apparently included in the eleventh dynasty and the first book of the History, though really belonging to the twelfth, the difference in the dates is rendered sufficiently close to entitle them to be considered identical. The lists of Eratosthenes and Manetho would thus also be brought into a near correspondence for these kings.

| Eratosthenes. | Years. | Manetho. | Years. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 31. Peteathures . . | 16 | 1. Ammenemes . | 16 |
| 32. Ammenemes . | 26 | 2. Sesonchosis, son of Ammenemes | 46 |
| 33. Stammenemes II. | 23 | 3. Ammanemes . | 38 |
| 34. Sistosichermes . | 55 | 4. Sesostris . . | 48 |
| 35. Mares . . . | 43 | 5. Lachares, or Lamaris . . . | 8 |
| | 163 | | 156 |

28. If we take the mean of the two numbers, or 160 years, for the duration of the twelfth dynasty down to the com-

[9] Mr. Palmer suggests that the name Peteathures may represent the throne-name of Amenemha I, with the article prefixed, Pi-otep-het-re. The name of the goddess Athor certainly seems to be contained in Peteathures; yet as the first king of the twelfth dynasty must have been omitted in the list of Eratosthenes unless represented by this name, the suggestion is a valuable one. See Egyptian Chronicles, p. 391.

mencement of the Tanite revolt, or the Hyksos period of Manetho, we obtain an exact correspondence between the dates of Eratosthenes and those derived from the computation which has been proposed.

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| Commencement of eighteenth dynasty, B.C. | 1525 |
| Duration of Hyksos dynasty of Manetho according to Josephus . . . . . | 260 |
| Duration of twelfth dynasty to the close of the reign of Mares, and commencement of the Hyksos period . . . . | 160 |
| First year of Amenemha I. . . . B. C. | 1945 |

to be compared with the date for the same point, B. C. 1941, obtained from the list of Eratosthenes, on the assumption that the commencement of that list was placed by the Theban priests at the commencement of the Sothic cycle of B. C. 2782.

29. If we compare these results with the account given by the writers of the fourteenth century B. C. in the Historical (Sallier) Papyrus, of the commencement of the war between the Lower Egyptian Tanite kings, and the southern kings of Upper Egypt, in which Apophis the Tanite, and Skennen-ra the predecessor of Aahmes, first king of the eighteenth dynasty, were the principal actors, we see that the Apophis mentioned in the Papyrus must be the Shepherd or Tanite king of that name mentioned by Manetho in Josephus; and that the invention of a second Apophis, on the supposition that the Hyksos period lasted more than five centuries, is altogether gratuitous. The real duration of this dynasty must be that stated by Josephus; his additional remark that the Shepherds and their posterity ruled altogether 511 years, must be owing to some misconception, or may apply to a collateral line of Lower Egyptian kings, who may, as some suppose, have been reigning as provincial kings of some city in the Delta during the time of the Sesortasides.

30. But the measure of this dynasty is also, as has been shown, the measure of the whole Hyksos period or Middle Empire. It is possible that even this measure of 260 years may be too long for the period between the eighteenth dynasty and the commencement of the Tanite revolt; that the four Memphite kings of the seventeenth dynasty of the Old Chronicle may have been the same or contemporaneous with four of the eight kings of the sixteenth dynasty of that document; and that the real measure of the period may be only 190 years; but it is certain that the number cannot be increased, and that as far as the evidence on this subject has at present been collected, the duration of the Hyksos period of Manetho and the Middle Empire of the modern writers on Egyptian history and chronology, must be fixed at 260 years.

31. A very similar conclusion may be drawn from the account which Herodotus gives of the list of high priests shown or read to him by his informants, the priests of the temple of Phtha at Memphis. That list contained the names of 341 high priests, said to have successively filled that high office.

The computation of the period supposed by Herodotus to have been comprised in the lives of these 341 high priests, viz. 11,340 years, by reckoning 341 generations, at three generations to a century, was not that of the Egyptian priests, but of Herodotus himself. The list given by the priests was not a list of generations from father to son, but of great dignitaries who must have arrived at their official rank for the most part at an advanced age. If we take the list of popes from A. D. 336 to A. D. 1831, we find about 235 popes in about 1490 years, which gives an average of less than seven years to each. The period comprised in a list of 341 Egyptian high priests might therefore be reckoned at not more than 2400 years, and taking the date of the visit of Herodotus to Egypt to have been about B. C. 425, its com-

mencement would be placed at B. C. 2825. This brings us to within 100 years of the time at which we suppose the Egyptian priests really to have placed the æra of Menes, and the commencement of their history, the year of the renewal of the Sothic cycle B. C. 2782. This is no doubt only a conjectural explanation of the nature of the Egyptian list mentioned by Herodotus; but it comes in aid of the many circumstances which tend to show that this was really the æra at which the Egyptians themselves placed their chronological starting-point.

32. But though this is merely a conjecture, nothing can be more clear than that the list of the Tablet of Abydos comprises the kings from Menes to Rameses II. in exactly one Sothic period of 1461 years. The number of these kings is fifty, Rameses II. being the fifty-first in the list. Reckoning these as generations at $29\frac{1}{3}$ years each, we have 1460 years. But the Tablet of Abydos omits the kings of the Hyksos period, though the period must be included. Then the average of the years of the thirty-five kings of Eratosthenes, down to the end of the reign of the thirty-ninth king of the Tablet of Abydos, is 24 years;[10] and the fifty kings recorded on the Tablet of Abydos from Menes to Rameses II, reckoned as fifty generations of twenty-four years each, comprise a period of 1200 years, which added to the 260 years of the Hyksos period—apparently passed over in that Tablet—produce exactly 1460 years. This Tablet was made in the fourteenth century B. C., and therefore is purely Egyptian, uncontaminated by foreign ideas; and it affords the clearest and most indisputable evidence that the

[10] The average of the Old Chronicle is 25 years; that of the Book of Sothis very nearly so. Herodotus, when he calculates the period of the 341 generations of high priests (ii. 142) allows $33\frac{1}{3}$ years to a generation; where he counts the *reigns* of the Lydian kings from Agron to Candaules, "22 generations of men, a space of 505 years" (i. 7), the average is 23 years. Mr. Rawlinson says (Herod. vol. i. p. 161, note), that the historian does not here calculate, but intends to state facts.

construction which has been put, in the course of this investigation, on the structure of the chronological system of Manetho and the Old Chronicle, is the true one, and that the Theban priesthood placed the æra of Menes at the year B. C. 2782.

33. According to the view we have taken of the epoch of the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty, and the length of the Hyksos period, the revolution which placed the Tanite kings on the throne of Lower Egypt, took place about B. C. 1785. Syncellus has preserved a tradition from some unknown source, that under Asseth, the last of the Tanite kings, and immediately before the accession of Aahmes, a reform of the Egyptian calendar took place—the five epagomenæ or intercalary days were added, and the year, which had previously consisted of only 360 days, increased to one of 365. According to other relations of the same tradition, the king under whom the calendar-reform was carried out, was Saites, the first king of the Shepherd or Tanite dynasty; and it consisted in a division of the year into twelve equal months of thirty days each, and the addition of the five intercalary days. The 365-day year appears to have been in use before this epoch, since the intercalary days are mentioned in the Benihassan inscription of the time of Sesortasen I. But that some calendar reform took place at this epoch appears to be placed beyond doubt by the agreement of the tradition with the date which we have discovered for the commencement of the Tanite dynasty.

34. Biot, in his "Memoir on the Vague Year of the Egyptians," pointed out that the year B. C. 1782 was a very probable æra for a reform of the Egyptian calendar, and, indeed, for the institution of the vague year of 365 days. He shows that in the year B. C. 3282, the first day of the month Pachon, which, according to the reading of Champollion, is the first month of the season of the inundation, would, if the calendar were then in existence, have fallen at the summer solstice,

and that Sirius also rose heliacally on the same day. For about 500 years no noticeable change in the relation of the heliacal rising of the star to the solstice had taken place, and in the year B. C. 2782, the difference between the occurrence of the two phenomena was only three days. But in the course of another thousand years, that is, in the course of an entire Phœnix period of 1500 years from B. C. 3282, the difference between the occurrence of the phenomena had become strongly marked. For Sirius then rose heliacally as much as ten days after the summer solstice, and it must have been evident to the Egyptian observers, that this difference was an increasing one, and that the celebration of the great summer festival theretofore regulated by the concurrence of the two events, could no longer be fixed as before. It became necessary to abandon the astronomical concurrence by which the commencement of the festival had been fixed, and to adopt another for the purpose. If now, we suppose, as appears most probable, that giving up altogether the occurrence of the time of the summer solstice as an element in the calculation, they decided upon retaining the time of the heliacal rising of Sirius alone, to mark the day on which the festival was to be celebrated, we can understand what was the nature of the calendar reform then undertaken. For in B. C. 1782 neither the rising of Sirius nor the summer solstice occurred on the first day of any one of the three season divisions of the year; the heliacal rising of Sirius taking place on the eleventh day of Pachon. It was easy to ascertain by calculation that the next season-commencement which would correspond with the heliacal rising of Sirius would be that tetrameny which began with the month of Thoth. The priests, it may be assumed, then resolved on making the year of 365 days commence with the month of Thoth, and accordingly changed the place of the epagomenæ from the position they had occupied when Pachon had been the first month of the year, which would have been between Pharmuthi and

Pachon, to the position in which we find them in the representation at the Ramesseum, between Mesori and Thoth. By this means there would intervene between the 10th of Pachon, the day on which Sirius rose heliacally, B. C. 1782, and its heliacal rising on the next 1st of Thoth, exactly 115 days, and these multiplied by 4 give 460 years from B. C. 1782 to B. C. 1322, in which year that event would take place. This change in the calendar, by which the position of the epagomenæ or intercalary days was altered, might well in popular tradition be represented as an invention of these days, and a consequent addition of five days to the older 360-day year.

35. Such a reform would, in fact, have lengthened that particular year, and have added to it five days; for the epagomenæ having been already passed before the 1st of Pachon, would, when their position was changed to the end of Mesori, have to be reckoned over again in that year before arriving at the 1st of Thoth; a circumstance very likely to have been long retained in the memory of the people, and to have given rise to the tradition of the permanent alteration of the length of the year by the government under whom the calendar reform was effected.

36. The objections which Lepsius urges to the probability of such a reform of the Egyptian calendar having taken place in B. C. 1782 are chiefly that this epoch falls in the time of the deepest humiliation of the Egyptians, in the barbarous times of the Semitic conquerors, during which the remnant of the Egyptian power must have been driven back in flight to Ethiopia; and that this was not the time for a learned and enlightened sovereignty, which the introduction of so important a reform implies. This ground alone, he says, is sufficient to prevent his taking this otherwise important astronomical epoch of B. C. 1782 into consideration. He remarks also, that as the Hyksos were either Phœnicians or Arabs, and undoubtedly a Semitic people, they therefore

must have used a lunar year, and were not likely to have interfered in the reform of the solar year of the Egyptians.[11]

But if, as we have endeavoured to show, these so-called Hyksos were not a foreign race, either Arab or Phœnician, but Lower Egyptian kings of native origin, these objections, founded on a mistaken view of the Hyksos and the duration of their rule, disappear, and we have the remarkable and certainly important coincidence of the year B. C. 1782 with the commencement of the Tanite dynasty in Lower Egypt. For the year B. C. 1782 falls within the reign of the first of these kings, Saites or Salatis, and furnishes a remarkable corroboration of the truth of the tradition relating to a reform of the calendar by that monarch. And this again is an equally remarkable and important, and certainly a most unexpected corroboration of the genuine character and truth of the chronology extracted from the list of Eratosthenes, the indications of the Old Chronicle, and the astronomical date of the Calendar inscription of Elephantine.[12]

There is no necessity for going back to the year B.C. 3282 for the invention of a calendar reformed in B.C. 1782; and here, as in so many other instances, we find that the events of Egyptian history have been thrown back into a period unnecessarily remote.

37. To this tradition, which assigns a reform of the calendar

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[11] Chronologie, p. 179, and note.

[12] Dr. Hincks was of opinion that the reform of the Egyptian calendar referred to by Syncellus, took place in the year B. C. 1767. The nature of this reform he supposes to have been the adoption of a vague year of 365 days, in place of a year fixed by the intercalation of a day at uncertain intervals. The difficulty of ascertaining the years which should consist of 366 days, and the confusion caused in the festival arrangements by the occurrence of the intercalary day, led the Egyptians to adopt the use of a vague year. The year B.C. 1767 was fixed on as being that in which the ancient luni-solar cycle of 600 years (the memory of which had been preserved through the deluge) terminated, and was renewed. On the Cycles used by the Ancient Egyptians, Tr. Roy. Ir. Acad. vol. xviii. p. 153. This year B.C. 1767 also falls within the reign of Salatis, according to the dates above given.

to the Tanite king Asseth or Saites, a name which, as Bunsen has noticed, is probably connected with that of Set, Sutesh, the peculiar divinity of Tanis, Syncellus has added another, which relates that in the time of this king, the deified bull was first called Apis. Manetho attributes the introduction of this bull-god to a much earlier period; and we may perhaps see in this tradition only an indication of the remembrance of that religious innovation begun by these Tanite kings, which culminated in the war between the worshippers of Amun of Thebes and those of Sutesh or Typhon of Tanis.

The tradition that Amosis, the conqueror of the Hyksos or Tanites, abolished the practice of human sacrifices—a practice attributed to the priesthood of Lower Egypt from a remote antiquity, as we see in the legend of Busiris—may have some foundation in truth, as pointing to the Phœnician connexions of the Delta, though the tradition comes from a Theban and therefore a hostile source.

38. And again, if the date for the accession of the Tanite king Saites holds good, and thus establishes the probability of the truth of the tradition which ascribes to him this calendar-reform, the opinion hitherto entertained on the authority of Manetho, of the barbarous and impious character of these so-called Hyksos must be considerably modified. The legends of their barbarity and impiety transmitted to us by Manetho, probably originated with the Theban priesthood, and contain a share of those popular traditions which belong to the period of the Disk-worshipper revolution. We are undoubtedly warranted in asserting that the history and chronology of the Middle and Old Empires of the writers on Egyptian history demand at their hands a serious reconsideration.

39. The reduction of the Hyksos period from five centuries to two and a half, has necessarily reduced the date for the builder of the Great Pyramid in a like proportion. The same result as to this latter date has been attempted by some

writers on the supposition that the Shepherd kings were contemporary not only with the twelfth dynasty, but even with the Pyramid-building kings of the sixth and even of the fourth dynasties themselves.

Mr. Palmer has even supposed that the Shepherd kings were ruling in Lower Egypt as suzerains of the Memphite kings to whom the erection of the largest pyramids is attributed; and that it was under their suzerainty that these monuments were built by the kings of the fourth dynasty,[13] from whom also the first kings of the eighteenth dynasty were not far removed in time.[14]

The history of the Pyramid-building epoch in Egypt is certainly very obscure; the character of the monuments contrasts strongly with the sepulchres of the Egyptian people contemporary with them; and there may be room to doubt whether the supremacy of a foreign, perhaps Chaldæan race of conquerors, is not shadowed forth by the Pyramids and the traditions connected with them; but it would seem impossible from all we can gather of the history of these early times in Egypt, that there can be any relation in point of time between the Pyramids and the Tanite or Shepherd kings who rose to power in Lower Egypt on the ruins of the twelfth dynasty.

40. Opinions are divided as to whether this peculiar Egyptian civilization developed itself solely in the valley of the Nile, or has been influenced in its earliest growth by Phœnician or other Asiatic influences. The old tradition that Egyptian civilization descended from Ethiopia with the course of the Nile has been thought to have been proved to be

[13] "The Shepherds themselves probably did not build pyramids, else they as suzerains ought no doubt to have built the largest of all; and it seems sometimes even to have been said that they did."—Egyptian Chronicles, p. 363.

[14] "In truth, it was the king of Upper Egypt, Amosis, who expelled the Shepherds, and he perhaps married a surviving daughter and heiress of Ph' Almnpththis or Thampthis, the last king of Memphis of the fourth dynasty of Manetho."—Id. p. 175.

untrue, inasmuch as the existing monuments of southern Ethiopia and of Meroe, are of later date than even a late Egyptian æra, and apparently owe their origin to modes of thought and fashions introduced into Ethiopia from the north, that is, from Egypt Proper. But there is one curious fact, that the pyramid, as a monument, exists in Lower Egypt and in Ethiopia, and is not found in the intervening portion of the Nile Valley, from Memphis to Ethiopia, the district always more or less subject to the power of the Theban Egyptian people. The pyramids of Ethiopia it is true, are, as it has been said, of comparatively modern origin, and are certainly but feeble reproductions of the noble monuments of the neighbourhood of Memphis; but their existence is an indication of a form of thought which once prevailed in Memphite Egypt, but which did not obtain a place in Theban Egypt.

41. If the epoch of the Great Pyramid may with truth be ascribed to the twenty-fourth century before the Christian æra, we find that it is about a century later than this epoch, that the commencement of the great Chaldæan empire, which was the first paramount power in western Asia, has been fixed by the latest researches. "About the year B. C. 2234, the Cushite inhabitants of southern Babylonia, who were of cognate race with the primitive colonists both of Arabia and of the African Ethiopia, may be supposed to have first risen into importance. All the traditions of Babylonia and Assyria point to a connexion in very early times between Ethiopia, southern Arabia, and the cities on the Lower Euphrates. In the Biblical genealogies, Cush and Mizraim are brothers, while from the former sprang Nimrod, the eponym of the Chaldæan races. The names, indeed, of the other sons of Cush seem to mark the line of colonization along the southern and eastern shores of the Arabian peninsula, from the Red Sea to the mouth of the Euphrates."[15] It may be that it is

[15] Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. page 434, &c.

to these Ethiopian Hamites, the sons of Cush, the Mesopotamian tribes of whom not long after the epoch of the building of the Great Pyramid, shook off the yoke of the Zoroastrian Medes, and established a Chaldæan dynasty on the Lower Euphrates, that we are to look for the origin of those great sovereigns and conquerors of Lower Egypt, the early Pyramid-building dynasties, whose power was supplanted upon the borders of the Nile by the native Theban race of Upper Egypt. If, as Professor Rawlinson suggests, the Ethiopian Meroe was the original seat of these Babylonian Cushites, whose deified hero, worshipped under the names of Nergal and Nimroud as the god of hunting and of war, had the earlier and true Cushite appellation of Mirikh, the vernacular name of Meroe, and that still given by the Arabs to the planet Mars;[16] we may imagine that the ancient tradition of Menes and his Thinite race descending from Upper Egypt to found the city of Memphis and take possession of the Delta of the Nile, may have an obscure reference to the foundation of an empire in Lower Egypt, by a race who added to the local animal worship of the ancient tribes of the Nile valley, the planetary mythology and the adoration of the celestial host.

But we obtain from the Egyptian monuments no distinct evidence as to this fusion of mythologic opinions, nor can we trace the point in time when the Isis-Osiris myth was superadded to the animal worship of the African Egyptian tribes; on the contrary, the monumental evidence at the highest point to which it reaches, demonstrates that the fusion of these mythologies had already been effected in times which at present remain beyond the domain of history.

42. The date which has been obtained for the epoch of the builder of the Great Pyramid, gives no clue to that of the commencement of Egyptian history. The monuments themselves indicate a long period, to be counted by centuries, for

[16] Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 443.

the growth of the arts announced in their construction. The tombs of the epoch to which the Great Pyramid belongs, demonstrate that Egyptian civilization, mythology, and social policy had then arrived at a point of development not inferior to that exhibited a thousand years later. The same style of dress, of ornament, of weapons; the same form of pictorial phonetics, the same titles of majesty or honour, are found in the tombs of the time of Shufu as in those of the time of Thothmes III, the same worship of Osiris, the embalment of the body, the offerings to the dead. The educated eye of the artist or the architect, may perceive a difference in the style of sculpture or of decoration, but the thoughts are the same, and the mode of expression nearly if not altogether so, as in the later periods of Egyptian history. The inscription on the wooden covering of the mummy case of king Mencheres, found by Col. Vyse in the sepulchral chamber of the Third Pyramid, is inscribed with a ritual formula, containing "a speech taken out of the drama or mystery of the Osiris mythos—the address of Isis over the recomposition of the limbs of Osiris; and it occurs on coffins of an epoch much posterior." [17]

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[17] Mr. Birch, On the Determination of the Relative Epochs of Mummies, in Gliddon's Otia Egyptiaca, p. 79.

The fate of the wretched peasant, a portion of whose body, with a diseased knee-joint, and a part of his coarse woollen wrapper, found in the Third Pyramid by Col. Vyse, now does duty at the British Museum for the body of the most holy king Mencheres, reminds us of that of the peasant described by the author of Waverley.

FitzEustace' care
A pierced and mangled body bare
To moated Lichfield's lofty pile;
And there beneath the southern aisle
A tomb with Gothic sculpture fair
Did long Lord Marmion's image bear.
* * * * *
And all around on scutcheon rich
And tablet carved and fretted niche,
His arms and feats were blazed.

The only hope of a further knowledge of this remote period of the Pyramid-building kings, lies in the discovery of the written legendary history of Egypt, of an age anterior to the corruption of the stream of Egyptian thought by the influx of Greek ideas; legends which may now lie hidden in the numerous untranslated papyri preserved in European museums.

43. In the mean time we may venture to assert that the discovery of the true Egyptian chronological method, which is the principal result of the foregoing investigation of Egyptian chronology, viz. the ancient Egyptian practice of placing the æra of Menes and the commencement of Egyptian history at the commencement of a Sothic cycle, renders necessary the reconstruction of those modern systems of Egyptian chronology which are founded on the opinion that the æra of Menes is a true starting-point for Egyptian chronology.

44. The reduction of the Hyksos period of Manetho from a doubtful and unhistorical period of unknown duration, to a measure of two and a half centuries, filled up by the names of historical kings, connects the history of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty with that of the Sesortasides, in a more clear and satisfactory manner than has hitherto been possible; while the history of the intervening period, on the supposition that the Shepherd kings were not a race of foreign conquerors of disputed origin, but a dynasty of native Egyptians, is relieved of a multitude of difficulties which have hitherto

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And yet though all was carved so fair,
And priest for Marmion breathed the prayer,
The last Lord Marmion lay not there.
From Ettrick woods a peasant swain
Followed his lord to Flodden plain.

* * * * *

The spoilers stripped and gashed the slain,
And thus their corpses were mista'en,
And thus in the proud Baron's tomb,
The lowly woodsman took the room.

stood in the way of a reasonable explanation of the history of this obscure period.

45. The identification of the Shepherd people expelled from Egypt by Thothmes III, with the children of Israel, though by no means new, has been facilitated by the disentanglement of the Hyksos traditions of Manetho and the separation of the conquest of Avaris by Aahmes from the expulsion of the Shepherds by Thothmes III; while the fact that the Hebrew Exodus took place in the reign of this monarch, may now, it is hoped, be considered definitively established.

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